THE Freeman

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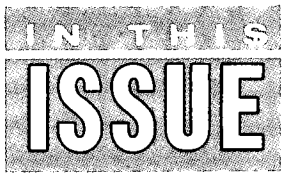

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THE Freeman

JUNE 1963 Vol. 13, No. 6

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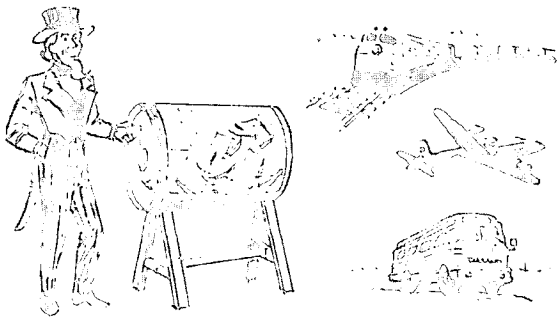

The World's Largest Lottery

or, Anybody's Programs at Everybody's Expense

PAUL L. POIROT

CITIZENS of the United States, like compulsive gamblers, are following the illusive lure of something for nothing into what is unquestionably the world's largest lottery.

The recently proposed "Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1963" illustrates the nature of this lottery. That there is a serious and growing transportation problem in most metropolitan areas is obvious. It is equally obvious that no one caught in a rush-hour traffic jam knows how to avoid it, else he would do so. Thus, the problem is ripe for turning over to the government, because, it is said, "private enterprise has failed." This also seems obvious to many persons. And they are ready to believe that if the costs of new and improved transit facilities exceed passenger revenues, the logical solution is: let the federal government absorb two-thirds of the deficit while the local community is taxed for the balance.

Before climbing aboard this gravy train, however, give thought to the number of persons who are not where they'd rather be, at any given moment – not to mention all the days and weeks and years of their lives. Imagine the traveling we'd do if someone else were obliged to cover any costs in excess of the fare the rider himself would gladly pay. There are persons willing to go to the moon on that basis! And certainly there is no limit to the number who would shuttle to somewhere and back, perhaps several times a day, were the fare low enough and the service convenient and fast enough. There is, after all, a limit to the transportation government can provide! But where and how is that line to be drawn?

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If we review the history of canals, highways, railroads, airlines, the merchant marine, bridges, subways, ferries, tunnels, and other facilities of transport, we find no lack of government experience in the business. Facilities not subsidized directly are often subject to rate regulation and controls that eat away capital and force investors to subsidize users. There seems to be nothing in the record of transportation in the United States to rule out further government intervention and subsidy on principle; it's an old American custom!

But tarry a moment longer before enjoying the "free" ride. Look again at the record. Does it really show, anywhere, at any time, that government successfully solved a transportation problem where private enterprise had failed? And is it really private enterprise and a free market that have failed now and created the current problems of urban transportation? Or, is it rather a case of too much compulsory government intervention, too many subsidies, too lavishly extended, for too long?

Is private enterprise responsible for the below-cost commuter fares on the passenger trains still serving Metropole? Is private enterprise responsible for the toll-free superhighways that lure more motorists to Metropole than can find free parking space on the streets? Are subway tokens that represent but a fraction of the full cost of a ride the responsibility of private enterprise? Are subsidized housing and recreation and similar attractions of Metropole properly chargeable as failures of private enterprise?

Results of Intervention

We know very well, when we think about it, that the above-mentioned trains, highways, subways, and housing are products of personal savings and individual human effort, although it was taxation that diverted energies into these particular channels. But we also know that the persisting misappropriation, malinvestment, and mismanagement of these resources – the subsidies that create rather than relieve congestion – are acts of governmental coercion; they are not free market manifestations of competitive private enterprise.

Now, we are being urged to believe that the problems created by too much intervention and subsidy can be resolved only by more intervention and subsidy – that government planners at last have perfected a perpetual motion machine whereby each of us, with no effort or responsibility on his own part, can survive and prosper at one another's expense!

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Congestion Multiplied

The proposed "Mass Urban Transportation Act," to whatever extent it authorizes federal or even local tax funds to pay for all or part of the costs of transportation, will simply and inevitably lead to more demand for transportation facilities and services than would prevail were each rider obliged to pay his own fare. The consequence must be to aggravate rather than to relieve the current congestion of traffic. The present failure is that of intervention and subsidy; and more of the same means further failure. The more hopeful alternative is to turn the problem back to the free market and let competitive private enterprise solve it. This would afford precisely the amount and kind of transportation customers are willing to pay for; and the result could well be a far greater community attraction to individual residents and to industries than all the various subsidies combined. At least, the resultant community would stand solidly on its own true merits, rather than balance precariously on artificial props ready to be toppled with every shift in the balance of political power.

Previously mentioned were many of the transportation services in the United States that have been drawn under the "national lottery" in one way or another. In a closely related and partially overlapping field of communications lies the postal service. The national government has monopolized mail delivery, which reveals the direction and the extreme toward which the lottery idea leads. American taxpayers are obliged, in effect, to haul the mail for one another, through taxes to cover the post office deficits that have approached a billion dollars annually in recent years.[1] Every taxpayer thus is forced to buy tickets in the postal lottery; favored individuals and groups are in positions to reap the "advantages" of the subsidy. Whether anyone actually reaps an advantage in the long run from the coercive practice of taking from some to give to others is doubtful from an economic point of view. And by all recognized measures of morality, the practice is dead wrong.

Subsidized Housing

Housing subsidies include public housing projects, slum clearance, urban renewal, rent control, mortgage loans at below market rates of interest, and various other devices whereby all taxpayers are

[1] For the author's discussion of the parcel post aspect of the postal service see "The Government's Freight Business," *The Freeman*, February, 1955. See also Leonard E. Read's "Let Anyone Deliver Mail," *The Freeman*, July, 1957. Both reprints available on request.

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forced to buy tickets in order that some may be lucky winners in the housing lottery.

With respect to food and farm products generally, the lottery collects from all taxpayers, in order to hold farm supplies off the market, in order to allow a favored minority to reap benefits. Portions of the stockpiled produce also are doled out to other favored classes in proportion to their lack of creative effort. In addition to food, the noncreative may draw unemployment compensation at everyone else's expense.

Another aspect of the lottery is entitled Social Security under which the lucky winners are drawn primarily according to age.

Various recreational and cultural facilities are now financed in whole or in part by way of the lottery.

Many business entrepreneurs owe their profits to one branch or another of the lottery, some by way of tariffs and quotas, some through tax exemption, some through special franchises or exclusive grants of monopoly power, some through government contracts, and perhaps some through pure chance – some loophole unplugged – all at everyone's expense.

Organized labor participates in the lottery prizes, at the expense of laborers from whom union cards are withheld, and consumers from whom goods and services are withheld, and others from whom values are withheld as strike-threatened inflation taxes savings.

The trend in education clearly illustrates the working of the lottery. The first departures in the United States from the concept of education as a parental responsibility were in the shift to local school districts – the lottery being confined to the community level. But with something for nothing in prospect, why play it small? Why not state aid and state control of the prizes? And if state aid is good, why not federal aid, and a federal lottery for education – everyone paying for the education of everyone else?

One intervention leads to another, and this is why more and more of the everyday affairs of ordinary citizens are being collectivized and tax-supported, first at the community level, then the state, and finally on a national scale. Beyond that, we have foreign aid programs; we cover the earth.

With Most To Lose

It may be argued in connection with any one of these socialistic programs that it is not like a lottery, because the winners are planned and designated in advance rather than chosen by lot or chance. And there is no doubt that many of the participants have some

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well-calculated schemes to beat the game and win something for nothing. But what they often fail to consider is that other schemers will devise other plausible schemes for inclusion in this major national pastime. And now that the lottery tickets are taking a third or more of the earnings of the typical American citizen, who is to say with any real conviction that he's still a sure winner?

Gambling can be a relatively harmless recreation for those who can afford to lose. But compulsive gambling can be a terrible disease of those who are not independently wealthy. There is nothing creative or productive about gambling. Someone always has to lose. And the ones most certain to lose are those who can least afford it. An advanced welfare state, such as prevails in the United States today, is little more than a gigantic national lottery, a wasteful gamble. As in any national lottery, the ignorant and the poor are the ones most tempted by this lure of something for nothing. Why not tax the rich and divide the proceeds?

There is a very good reason why this is not a good bet: once the creative and productive members of a society are taxed out of business, there will be none left to help those who couldn't help themselves.

Compulsive gambling is sad and serious enough when confined to the self-injury one can inflict with his own resources. But to promote the lure of something for nothing into compulsory socialism – an all-out welfare state – is to return to the intolerable tyranny of the Dark Ages. ◈

Reflections on INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

ROBERT M. THORNTON

IDEAS OF FREE WILL and individual responsibility have come under heavy assault during the past century. Marxists insist that man is determined by the modes of production; psychoanalysts declare that childhood experiences or sexual inhibitions determine the man; genes, say the biologists; conditioned reflexes, say the behaviorists; social forces, say the collectivists; playground facilities and parents, say the environmentalists. One thing these varied

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groups have in common: each denies that man is free and, therefore, properly held responsible for his words and deeds. After a killing or some other terrible crime takes place, it is not uncommon to hear people say the fault is society's and not the criminal's. Man is merely the victim of determining forces over which he has little control.

This relatively new concept of man has, of course, not gone unchallenged. In 1961 Dr. Thomas S. Szasz published his *The Myth of Mental Illness* (New York, Hoeber-Harper), and *Psychiatry and Responsibility* (a symposium edited by Helmut Schoeck and James W. Wiggins and published by D. Van Nostrand) appeared in 1962. Both books relate numerous subjects to psychiatry, and the former goes pretty deep into psychiatric theory and practice. Nevertheless, they are not without interest to the libertarian reader. The profession of psychiatry has become institutionalized, and thus subject to the three "laws" that afflict every human organization. These "laws," as Albert Jay Nock formulated them, run as follows: First, more and more persons see in psychiatry a way to satisfy their needs and desires with the least possible exertion (Epstean's Law); the entrance of opportunists drives out those motivated by nobler ideas (Gresham's Law); finally, less and less good is achieved by greater and greater expenditures of time and money (Law of Diminishing Returns). Dr. Szasz, himself a practicing psychiatrist, seeks to separate the real truths of psychiatry from the heavy crust of dogma that has grown up around them as a consequence of these three "laws." And both books speak out emphatically against any denial of individual responsibility which seeks support in psychiatry.

A Secularized Society

The denial of individual responsibility is but another sign of the trend toward a completely secularized society. It accounts for the prevalent belief of today that one individual does not count for much, that he is of no consequence in the immense universe man is beginning to explore. Thus, man feels himself a helpless pawn in a cruel game. It was not always so:

"Our ancestors believed that each man counted because they knew that each man was accountable. In the religious faith they professed, the individual had to render an account of his life before God, and therefore he was, in his own and in his fellow's eyes, a responsible being. These are the convictions we must recover; that each of us counts, that each of us

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is responsible, that what we do or don't do with our lives can mean victory or defeat for the things that matter most for us and our posterity." (E. A. Opitz)[1]

To carry this point a bit further we might add that our ancestors sought to achieve no more than a tolerable justice on earth, believing that only before God would they receive perfect justice. Today, God is denied by an increasing number of persons – especially among the so-called intellectuals – and there is a striving to fashion a heaven on earth by political means.

We have spoken of the person who does not wish to be held responsible for his acts and of those who would relieve the rest of us of responsibility. But what of the person who accepts full responsibility for his words and deeds but is judged *not responsible* by the authorities? In the past decade or so there have been several cases where authorities have questioned the sanity of persons who spoke out against certain acts of the federal government. Now, it is all very well to declare a man wrong if he opposes, say, the federal income tax, but it is preposterous – and highly dangerous – to judge him insane or mentally incompetent because he does so. This smacks of Inquisition days when dissenters were punished as heretics. Dr. Szasz deals with this subject in a recent *National Review* article as did Dr. Lewis Albert Alesen in his *Mental Robots* (Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1957).

Of course, modern-day heretics will not be punished in the usual ways – imprisonment, torture, fine, or execution – for after all, they cannot help what they did; they are but pawns at the mercy of forces beyond their control! So they will be locked up for "treatment" for unspecified lengths of time. And as in Franz Kafka's powerful novel, *The Trial,* the victims probably will have no specific charges placed against them and no one to whom they may appeal. It is not fanciful to predict that in the attempt to see a mythical "perfect justice" done, large numbers of people will lose their rights altogether (always the consequence of denying responsibility) and that actual injustices will be commonplace.

The State Will Fill the Void

Now if individual responsibility is denied, what is to take its place? The vacuum will be filled, no doubt about that! The late Carl Jung, one of the most eminent of contemporary psychiatrists, had this to say:

[1] "The Recovery of Individual Responsibility," *Christian Economics,* Jan. 22, 1963.

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"The moral responsibility of the individual is then inevitably replaced by the policy of the state (*raison d'état*). Instead of moral and mental differentiation of the individual, you have public welfare and the raising of the living standard. The goal and meaning of the individual (which is the only *real* life) no longer lie in individual development but in the policy of the state, which is thrust upon the individual from outside and consists in the execution of an abstract idea which ultimately tends to attract all life to itself. The individual is increasingly deprived of the moral decision as to how he should live his own life, and instead is ruled, fed, clothed, and educated as a social unit, accommodated in the appropriate housing unit, and amused in accordance with the standards that give pleasure and satisfaction to the masses. . . .

"Under these circumstances it is small wonder that individual judgment grows increasingly uncertain of itself and that responsibility is collectivized as much as possible, i.e., is shuffled off by the individual and delegated to a corporate body. . . .

"In this way," Jung goes on to say, "the individual becomes more and more a function of society, which in its turn usurps the function of the real life carrier, whereas, in actual fact, society is nothing more than an abstract idea like the state. Both are hypostatized, that is, have become autonomous. The state in particular is turned into a quasi-animate personality from whom everything is expected. In reality it is only a camouflage for those individuals who know how to manipulate it. Thus the constitutional state drifts into the situation of a primitive tribe where everybody is subject to the autocratic rule of a chief or an oligarchy." (*The Undiscovered Self*. Little, Brown & Co., 1957)

Unless there is a recovery of individual responsibility, it is hard to envisage any other outcome. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Woodrow Wilson

THE HISTORY of liberty is a history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it. When we resist, therefore, the concentration of power, we are resisting the processes of death, because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties.

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3. *Of Republican Government*

CLARENCE B. CARSON

THERE IS no single word which adequately describes the American system of government. Nor need there be. Lately, there has been debate as to whether the United States is a republic or a democracy. Some conservatives have taken an adamant position that it is a republic; many liberals would be deprived of their philosopher's stone if they could not refer to it as a democracy. Others have rushed into the breach to proclaim that it is both a republic and a democracy. Actually, neither term should be called upon to perform such a broad and comprehensive service.

The United States was conceived and elaborated as a *constitutional federated republic*. All three terms are essential to convey the barest outline of our form of government; none of them sufficiently implies the others to be omitted. And these do little more than describe the outward form. They leave unevoked most of the inner essence of the American political tradition — i.e., separation of powers, government by law, private rights, and so forth. But is there any need to reduce the political tradition to a single word? Is space so limited, vocabulary so impoverished, or memory so short that our central political ideas must be reduced to a single word?

Our penchant for reductionism, for oversimplification, for overloading words so that they block the channels of communication has a more serious explanation. It

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Illustration: National Archives

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stems from the bent to have an ideology which can be conveyed and propagated by a single word. With such a device, one may say – as if meaningfully – that a war is "to make the world safe for democracy," or refer to the world conflict between democracy and communism. No one has yet suggested, to my knowledge, that the conflict is between republicanism and communism, for the meaning of republicanism is still sufficiently clear to expose such nonsense. Still, given time and enough sloganizing, even republic might be used to signify an ideology.

Not an Ideology

Ideologues first reduce all of reality to the limited dimensions of their own minds. Then, they reduce these conceptions to catchwords, slogans, and shibboleths. These phrases are imputed to contain an implicit summation of reality, an analysis of what ails society, a prognosis for its future, and the solutions for its problems. Thus, Karl Marx reduced reality to matter, made technology the moving force, explained historical developments in terms of class conflict, attributed the ills of society to capitalism, predicted a generally worsening situation, and held out communism as the solution. The tendency to do this sort of thing can be detected even before Marx's works, but it spreads so rapidly in our day that it threatens to envelop and choke off all thought and discourse.

The point is this. The American political tradition should not be conceived of as an ideology. To do so would be to distort both the tradition and the historical setting in which it arose. An ideology is monolithic, reductionist, comprehensive (in its claims), starts with a uniform conception of man, and ends with uniformity in the society it prescribes. By contrast, the American tradition was born out of and tended to facilitate diversity, expansiveness, and variety of belief and practice, none of which were presumed to be complete or finished. One may detect the bent of some Americans toward ideology at the time of the articulation of our tradition into institutions – in Jefferson's thought, for instance – but little of this found its way into documents from which our institutions were framed.

Republic or Democracy?

To come to the matter at hand, "republic" is not an equivalent term to "democracy," as these words are now used. "Democracy" has been loaded with that complex of interrelated ideas which we associate with an ideology; whereas, "republic" retains mainly its de-

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scriptive usage. This was not always so. In the debates about the adoption of the Constitution, "republic" and "democracy" were used interchangeably by some speakers. Even where this is not the case, it appears that neither word is anything more than descriptive. In considering the American political tradition, then, it is necessary to divest ourselves of the tendency to reduce things to ideologies. Men, in those days, sometimes had philosophies, ideas, beliefs, and principles, but rarely, if ever, ideologies.

Of course, the United States government was conceived of, created as, and referred to by its founders as republican in *form.* In like manner, this government was to see to it that the states had a republican form of government. These are matters of record, not subjects for debate. But what they meant by this does have to be deciphered.

Representative Government

Republican government refers primarily to two things: the origin of the powers of a government, and the manner in which these powers are exercised. That is, they come from the *public* (or people), and they are exercised by representatives. Most commentators are in agreement on these two characteristics. Thus, the *American College Dictionary* defines a republic as "a state in which the supreme power rests in the body of citizens entitled to vote and is exercised by representatives chosen directly or indirectly by them." James Madison said that "we may define a republic to be . . . a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior."[1] Patrick Henry, who was apt to agree with Madison about little else at the time of the constitutional debates, said: "The delegation of power to an adequate number of representatives, and an unimpeded reversion of it back to the people, at short periods, form the principal traits of a republican government."[2] In short, republican government is popular representative government.

At the time of the founding of these United States, Americans disagreed about many things, but not about the desirability of republican government. Few, if any, could have been found to debate the following propositions with

[1] Benjamin F. Wright, ed., *The Federalist* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 280-81.

[2] *Elliot's Debates,* Bk. I, vol. 3, p. 396.

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Madison in 1788. "The first question that offers itself is, whether the general form and aspect of the government be strictly republican? It is evident that no other form would be reconcilable with the genius of the people of America; with the fundamental principles of the Revolution; or with that honorable determination which animates every votary of freedom, to rest all our political experiments on the capacity of mankind for self-government."[3]

All of this can be so easily misunderstood, taken out of context as it is. Those who have gone far toward deifying majority rule and popular government as ends in themselves may think they have found allies in the Founders. Those who view representation as a purely practical expedient standing in lieu of a more desirable direct democracy may conclude that they hold common ground with the constitution-makers. Both would be wrong.

A Means to an End

Republican government was conceived as a means to an end, not an end itself. Americans of the late eighteenth century used many words and phrases to describe the object of government: for example, "happiness," "domestic tranquility," "common defense," "general welfare," and so forth. These somewhat vague words have been informed with quite different meanings in our day from what they meant in the earlier usage. As a matter of fact, their earlier meanings can be conveniently reduced to three heads: order, security, and liberty. The object of governments as then conceived was to institute regular and lawful (orderly) means for conducting relationships among men, to secure the possessions and lives of men from predators and aggressors, and to insure to men the free use of their faculties, so long as they did no harm to others.

Edmund Pendleton pins down most of these meanings in the following excerpt from his speech before the Virginia Convention held to consider the adoption of the Constitution. (Incidentally, this is an argument for adoption.)

> I wish, sir, for a regular government, in order to secure and protect those honest citizens who have been distinguished – I mean the *industrious* farmer and planter. I wish them to be protected in the enjoyment of their honestly and industriously acquired property. I wish commerce to be fully protected and encouraged, that the people may have an opportunity of disposing of their crops at market, and of procuring such supplies as they may be in want of. I presume that there can be no political happiness, unless industry be cher-

[3] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

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ished and protected, and property secured. Suppose a poor man becomes rich by honest labor, and increases the public stock of wealth: shall his reward be the loss of that liberty he set out with? Will you take away every stimulus to industry, by declaring that he shall not retain the fruits of it? . . . In my mind the true principle of republicanism, and the greatest security of liberty, is regular government.[4]

Republican government, then, was linked in his mind, as it was in the minds of many others, with order, security, and liberty — the objects of government.

Consent of the People

By definition, republican government is government by the consent of the people (or public). But it is not obvious why popular government should be thought likely to produce the ends that these men desired. Conceivably, they might have believed that the people are naturally good and virtuous, that they are by nature bent to justice and order, that a majority will always make the right decision, and that the voice of the people is the voice of God. Had they started with these assumptions, it would be clear why they favored popular government (though we might still question their sanity).

But these emphatically were not the assumptions of most men who produced and favored the adoption of the United States Constitution. On the contrary, Alexander Hamilton said, "The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and, however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true to fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right."[5] John Adams apparently acquiesced in the view that "whoever would found a state, and make proper laws for the government of it, must presume that all men are bad by nature; that they will not fail to show that natural depravity of heart whenever they have a fair opportunity."[6] Moses Ames, speaking in the Massachusetts Convention on the matter of direct popular government, said: "It has been said that a pure democracy is the best government for a small people who assemble in person. . . . It may be of some use in this argument . . . to consider, that it would be very burdensome, subject to faction and violence; decisions would often be made by surprise, in the precipitancy of passion, by men who either understand nothing or care nothing

[4] *Elliot's Debates*, Bk. I, vol. 3, pp. 295-96. Italics mine.

[5] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, vol. 1, p. 422.

[6] Vernon L. Parrington, *The Colonial Mind* (New York: A Harvest Book, 1954), p. 317.

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about the subject; or by interested men, or those who vote for their own indemnity. It would be a government not by laws, but by men."[7] James Madison said that "on a candid examination of history, we shall find that turbulence, violence, and abuse of power, by the majority trampling on the rights of the minority, have produced factions and commotions, which, in republics, have more frequently than any other cause, produced despotism."[8] John C. Calhoun, writing considerably later, said that the "truth is, – the Government of the uncontrolled numerical majority, is but the *absolute and despotic form of popular governments. . . .*"[9]

Yet these same men, and others of similar views, were devoted advocates of popularly based government. Alexander Hamilton declared: "The fabric of American Empire ought to rest on the solid basis of THE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE. The streams of national power ought to flow immediately from that pure, original fountain of all legitimate authority."[10] Elbridge Gerry maintained that "it must be admitted that a free people are the proper guardians of their rights and liberties. . . ."[11] Moses Ames said: "The people must govern by a majority with whom all power resides."[12] A Mr. Lee of Westmoreland in Virginia took a similar position: "I say that this new system shows, in stronger terms than words could declare, that the liberties of the people are secure. It goes on the principle that all power is in the people, and that rulers have no powers but what are enumerated in that paper [the Constitution]."[13] John Marshall "conceived that, as the government was drawn from the people, the feelings and interests of the people would be attended to. . . ."[14] James Madison asked, "Who but the people have a right to form government [sic]? The expression [We the People] is a common one, and a favorite one with me."[15]

A Paradox Explained

Apparently, here is a paradox; or worse, outright contradiction. On the one hand, we are told that the people are passionate, turbulent, changing, partial, and self-interested. The direct rule of the

[7] *Elliot's Debates*, Bk. I, Vol. 2, p. 8.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 87.

[9] Quoted in Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind* (Chicago: Regnery, 1960, the rev. Gateway edition), p. 199.

[10] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

[11] *Elliot's Debates*, Bk. I, vol. 1, p. 493.

[12] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 8.

[13] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 186.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 420.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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majority can lead to almost certain despotism. On the other, some of the same men argue for the adoption of the Constitution on the grounds that it provides for popular government. The people are "that pure, original fountain of all legitimate authority." Can such differences be resolved?

They can, at the least, be explained, and the explanation will lead us to the heart of the American tradition of republican government. It must be remembered that we are not dealing with an ideology. An ideologue would almost certainly turn to some other basis of government if he did not trust the people. Moreover, these men are not discussing plans for a perfect society; they are discussing prudent means to very limited ends. They do not have in view final ends, total means, or absolute positions. The very limited character of the undertaking made moderation appropriate. As Governor Edmund Randolph put it during the Virginia Convention:

> The gentleman expresses a necessity of being suspicious of those who govern. I will agree with him in the necessity of political jealousy to a certain extent; but we ought to examine how far this political jealousy ought to be carried. I confess that a certain degree of it is highly necessary to the preservation of liberty; but it ought not to be extended to a degree which is degrading and humiliating to human nature; to a degree of restlessness, and active disquietude, sufficient to disturb a community, or preclude the possibility of political happiness and contentment. Confidence ought also to be equally limited. Wisdom shrinks from extremes, and fixes on a medium as her choice.[16]

These may not be eternal truths, but they are practical possibilities when men are dealing not with ideologies but with limited means to limited ends.

Man's Natural Right to Life, Liberty, the Fruits of His Labor

Moderate attitudes do not, however, remove the apparent contradictions alluded to earlier; they merely provide favorable conditions for the removal. The problem can be resolved only by reverting to the ideas which informed the belief in popular government. These were ideas of the nature of *man*, not of the behavior of men. The Founders believed that man, by nature, possessed certain rights. These rights were variously described, but it captures the thought behind a common belief to say that they were the right of a man to *life, liberty,* and the *fruits of his labor.* These rights were believed to be inalienable; that is, they were his

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

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by virtue of existence and not subject to being contracted away. Governments exist, legitimately, to protect man in these rights. It is in the common interest and for the general welfare of all men that these rights be protected. Order, security, and liberty are the conditions within which these rights can be assured.

Thus, a popularly based government is, from one point of view, a government based on the nature of man. In this sense, the voice of the people might truly be said to be the voice of God. For God had implanted this nature in man, and He gave final support to these natural rights.

Broadly Based Control

But this does not touch the practical problems of constitution-makers. Theoretically, all men have rights and an interest in governments which will secure them. Why not rest all government directly upon popular action? Will this not be the best of all means for securing men in their rights? Here and there a man might be found – Patrick Henry, a budding ideologue, for instance – who thought so at the time of the founding of these United States. But most men were hardly of this persuasion. In founding and operating governments, men as they actually are, not simply what they have by nature, must be reckoned with. In their actual behavior, men frequently seek their selfish interests, try to gain power over others, yield to their passions, and become intolerant.

Had they angels to govern them, the problem might be readily solved. But alas, they have only fallible men to govern them and fallible men to be governed. Some men, it is true, are more nearly dispassionate than others, better learned, more given to appeal to reason, more conscious of the general welfare. Even they are but men, however, and given a free rein they may ride roughshod over their fellow men. History is replete with instances of this consequence of entrusted power. No, the broad body of the people must retain control over the government. Even though men at large are capable of great mischief, particularly when gathered in groups, the government must have an actual popular base.

Limitations Sought

The task, as conceived by the Founders, was a difficult one. They believed that men's rights would be secure only if they kept watch over them. But if all power were conceded to men in the aggregate, they might abuse it and become tyrannical. At any rate, they might group into factions and use

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government for partisan ends. Also, they wanted a government with sufficient energy to provide that order and security within which men might enjoy their liberty. To do this, they would have to concentrate power to some extent. This would be dangerous, of course. How could the general welfare of all be discovered but by the best of men?

Indirect Control

A significant part of the means to these ends was the representation principle. According to the mode of the United States Constitution, the people are the source of authority. The Constitution was referred to delegates for adoption. The Preamble opens with "We the people." All authority can be traced backward to its popular source. Thus, the members of the House of Representatives were to be chosen directly by popular vote. The Senate was to be chosen by state legislatures, some portion, or all, of which, was to be chosen by the electorate. But there were definite checks on the exercise of power by the electorate. The Senate was elected indirectly, so far as the populace was concerned. The President was to be elected by special electors, chosen for that purpose as the states might designate. The members of the federal courts are appointed by the President by and with the consent of the Senate.

No law can be passed without the concurrence of a majority of Representatives, chosen directly by the populace. But it was equally true that no law could be passed without the concurrence of a majority of Senators, not at that time directly elected by the populace. In this manner, the people are the source of authority. But by making most of their voice indirect, there was an attempt to prevent either factional use of the government or a too ready response to the turbulence of the crowd. By having authority exercised by representatives, and most of them chosen by a winnowing process, the hope was to obtain reasonable government rather than one based upon passion. These representatives serve for different terms and are balanced against one another in separate branches of the government.

Reliance on Reason

The conception which many of the Founders had of the role of reason needs to be made clear also. Reason was thought to be the means by which man discovered his natural rights. In like manner, he discovered by reason the nature of good government and of the kind of society appropriate to man. Thus, reason was thought to be

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particularly important to the security of men in their lives and property. Representation was also conceived as the best means, or the best hope, for getting reason to prevail in political affairs. By selection a considerable number of the most reasonable men might be chosen; by making it cumbersome to take action the delays would give men time to "come to their senses"; by counterpoising branch against branch men might have to recur to persuasion.

In debates in representative assemblies, men are drawn toward a reasonable position, for by aligning himself with reason a man stands higher in his opinion of himself. It should be noted, too, that the great ages of belief in reason have more often than not been the great ages of representative governments. The debates of parliaments make little sense if men are not subject to yield to the better reason. When belief in reason declines, as in our day, parliaments and congresses become increasingly anachronistic. Thus, attacks on Congress mount, and more and more ways are devised to evade the necessity for congressional action.

A Traditional Concept

Americans did not, of course, invent republican government at the time of the writing and adoption of the Constitution. They were working within a centuries-old tradition. Both popular and representative government can be traced backward to the late Middle Ages in England. In the authoritarian and feudal surroundings of that time, representatives started out as advisers to the king, served sometimes to counterbalance the power of the monarch, and represented before the king the various orders of men in the realm. The House of Lords represented the nobles and the clergy; the House of Commons represented the gentry and the townsmen. Thus, the earliest English settlers in America were familiar with representative government when they came. As soon as they were able, they established representative assemblies in the New World, beginning with the House of Burgesses in Virginia in 1619. These developed apace in most colonies, and Americans usually governed themselves in most respects long before they broke from England.

The idea of government deriving from the people had yet another source. It is found in the various compacts and convenants by which communities constituted themselves bodies politic, i.e., the Mayflower Compact, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, and so forth. These not only served as

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forerunners of our constitutions but also as prototypes for the belief that governments derive their powers from the people.

The Form Remains

Apparently, some people are shocked to learn it, but the United States still has a republican form of government. There have been some alterations, of course. The Senate is now elected by direct popular vote. Electors who vote for the President are now regularly chosen by popular vote, whereas, at the beginning some of them were chosen by state legislatures. The elective franchise has been much extended, but that in itself does not alter the republican character of the government.

This would not be in the least amazing had not the United States been known for more than a century as a democracy. This designation began to catch on around the middle of the nineteenth century, and by World War I there were few, if any, to deny its descriptive accuracy. Children in the schools were taught that they lived in a democracy; preachers verified it in their prayers; and politicians proclaimed it to their constituents. Meanwhile, democracy was coming to stand for an ideology. Shaped by John Dewey and others, it picked up collectivist ideas and comprehensive and unlimited ends for the government it was supposed to describe.

In the early twentieth century when these latter developments were getting under way, there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the government. The notion was spread that America was supposed to be a democracy – that was its aim and end – but this had not yet been achieved. Reforms were pushed in the name of making the country more democratic. For a time, there were efforts to make the government more responsive to direct popular pressure through such devices as the initiative and referendum. Actually, these devices made some headway at the state level, but the impetus toward this sort of thing faded during World War I, and there has not been a great deal of interest in reviving it since the reformers got control of the executive branch of the government in 1933. They have turned their efforts since that time to the positive use of government to accomplish substantive "democratic" – i.e., largely collectivistic – reforms rather than formal ones. Democracy became an end in the midst of this rather than a means. Voting – the most obvious "democratic" activity – became an end also.

These changes do represent major departures from the American

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tradition, though not so much by changes of institutions as by changes in belief. The republican form is still there to be understood and used. It still acts to inhibit precipitate action and to slow down the pace of change. But it will serve its full and rewarding purpose again only when we view it as a limited means to limited ends, namely, order, security, and liberty, *not* as a poor substitute for democracy, which it was not intended to be. ◈

• *The next article in this series will treat "Of Federalism."*

Government Relief

RAE C. HEIPLE, II

The Honorable Mr. Heiple, a member of the Illinois State Legislature from Washington, Illinois, recently reported his minority view to the Committee on Public Aid, excerpts from which are here presented.

IF THE PROBLEM of government relief were not so important, if it were not so expensive, if it were not so destructive to morality, and if it were not so tragic in its long-term consequences, I could remain silent. But, how can one remain silent in the face of such serious social evils?

The philosophy behind public relief is that it helps people who "need" help through no fault of their own and permits them to live a dignified and normal life, thereby facilitating their return to independence as soon as possible.

This philosophy is completely and utterly false for the reason that it fails to take human nature into consideration.

The cold, hard fact of life is that man works out of necessity, not because he likes to work but because he has to. It is the choice of eating or going hungry – the choice of being warm or cold that makes man work.

If the government is going to feed, clothe, provide a home and fire, without the necessity of work, many people won't work. It is that simple.

It may be true that *you* would not quit work just to get govern-

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ment relief – but that is because you prefer a higher standard of living than government would provide. If the standard of relief were raised to the level of income you are now earning – or even give you more money than you now earn – how long would you work?

The fact that *you* would not take the present level of government relief in preference to working does not mean that everyone is so inclined. Unfortunately, there are large groups of people who prefer government relief to working – who do not have the same desires, ambitions, motivations, or standards of creature comfort that you think are essential. Government relief offers everything they want – so why work?

Relief will provide a home with electricity, indoor plumbing, central heat, all necessary medical attention, conventional clothing, conventional food, including meat and milk, and a certain amount of entertainment and amusement. In Chicago I observed families on relief with two televisions, hi-fi record players, and extension princess telephones. In fact, every home I visited had at least one T.V. and telephone. In a comparison with other states, the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare's "Statistics on Public Assistance Report" of May 4, 1962, discloses that Illinois pays the highest A.D.C. (Aid to families with needy children) grants, the highest A.D.C.-U (Aid to needy children of unemployed parents) grants, and that Chicago pays the highest general assistance grants in the United States.

The relief grant is so high in large families that often the payments amount to more than the family could earn by working. There are thousands of A.D.C. cases on the rolls where the mother has forced the father out of the home in order to get the relief payments. There are people living together out of wedlock rather than get married and lose their relief grant. Nor does anyone doubt that there are countless A.D.C. cases where a girl has deliberately become pregnant in order to obtain a relief check. An A.D.C. check of $150 to $160 per month to a 17-year-old girl is often preferable to a job as a housekeeper at $8 per day.

In short, government relief is a social evil. It is harmful to the recipient, encouraging him to live a life of unproductive indolence. It makes him less self-reliant. It destroys his pride and self-confidence. It removes the necessity for initiative and creative effort. It makes him a lesser personality than he was, and perpetuates his existence in an inferior position.

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It has caused the birth of thousands of unwanted children. This is the greatest tragedy of all. These children will have two strikes against them to begin with: they will be brought up in an environment oriented to expect something for nothing; and they are by heredity the product of persons who do not carry their own weight in society.

In all domesticated animals, the attempt is to improve the strain and develop the best traits. In the human animal, the government relief program has the result of encouraging down-breeding and the production of inferior persons. The average size of family on A.D.C. is 3.3 children, whereas the general average for our society is 2.4 children. It is a strange paradox that a self-supporting, productive family must limit the number of children they could raise, educate, and support in order to have money to pay taxes to provide a relief family a bonus for having another child.

The economic effect of relief is to encourage present consumption, to discourage saving, to hinder capital formation, to slow down the growth rate, and to reduce the living standard.

The answer to the relief problem is simple. It is supplied by the Bible in Thessalonians II, ch. 3:10 wherein it is advised that "those who do not work shall not eat." In other words, the ideal solution is to do away with government relief. This does not mean that people would starve. It does mean that the great majority of relief recipients would go to work. For those comparative few who are physically unable to work, I am convinced that true charity, the love of man because of the love of God, would meet all needs. The Chinese, the Jews, the Mormons meet these needs now in the face of great competition and on a voluntary basis. If the government did not pre-empt the field, others would do the same.

I never saw a man starve; you never saw a man starve. I have confidence that the rest of the people in this state have the same feeling for their fellow man, and that they would not permit anyone to starve either.

Responsibility to oneself and family, coupled with the necessity of working to meet this responsibility, are the ingredients for human progress and the development of the individual personality. Government relief is a proven failure, a social evil, a destroyer of human personality. The greatest and kindest deed government could perform would be to remove the temptation of something for nothing. ◈

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THE BUSINESSMAN'S MORALS

An Indictment and a Plea for the Defense

FRED DEARMOND

BUSINESS and industry constitute the one area in which our country has led the world for the past half century. Visitors to our shores would naturally expect businessmen to be in high repute here. Instead, they read and hear a constant barrage of criticism directed at men of business – more vocal than in any other nation of the free world. Truly, the prophet is without honor in the country he has made great.

Underlying most strictures on the morals of business are two basic assumptions. First, that men of business devote their lives to the pursuit of money, while professional people are dedicated to the ideal of service, with money-making not the major consideration. Second, that capitalism, under which we operate, is an economic system run by and for capitalists.

These assumptions are deeply grounded in our literature. Novelists such as Charles Dickens, who drew his most villainous characters from the business vocation, have had innumerable imitators in the United States. Think of all the cloistered readers who obtained lasting impressions of the businessman from the flinty-hearted Mr. Murdstone in *David Copperfield* or from Sinclair Lewis's flabby "Babbitt" caricature.

The most articulate and influential of the assaults on the ethics of businessmen have come from these three sources:

Mr. DeArmond, salesman, writer, and business consultant on personnel training, is a contributor to numerous periodicals and the author of books such as *The Executive at Work* and *How To Sell and Unsell Ideas.*

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1. The academic fraternity
2. The clergy
3. The left-wing politicians.

Let's attempt to analyze the articles of indictment from these sources.

1. The Professors vs. Business

It appears that a majority of college professors are innately hostile to the business community. Most critical are the economists and sociologists. But a great many history majors hold to the Marxian concept of industry as a goliath wringing its unearned increment from the bodies of workers. They seem quite unable to perceive why a mere crude businessman, perhaps without an academic degree to his name, should make more money than they do. This is a standard "liberal" view among the college faculties, and any marked dissent from it within the cap-and-gown circle labels the holder as a rebel.

One economics professor charges businessmen with "pursuing their naked self-interest." Again he berates "the tendency of many businessmen to cling to an outmoded system of ethics based on a perverted version of the philosophy of individualism." On the contrary, the philosophy of individualism represents an advance from the philosophy of absolutism. Just now we are witnessing a backwash in the evolution of civilization when a highly vocal group seeks to convince us that more authoritarianism, less individual liberty, spells Progress.

After having compared the techniques of selling to the arts practiced by a prostitute, Professor Max Radin asks, "Will it be possible to make habitual the suppression of greed, that is to say, the tendency to aggrandize oneself by accumulating more property than other persons have? It is clear that society does not begin at all until some of the grosser forms of such lust for property are in fact suppressed."

This self-aggrandizement, this "lust for property" that Professor Radin excoriates, is an expression of the natural urge toward inequality with its accompanying demand for rewards in proportion to talents and individual contribution to general well-being.

College youth, especially from middle-class business families, generally resist this form of indoctrination by their teachers. But it is here that a great many derive a pronounced prejudice against business.

2. The Clergy vs. Business

Particularly among the Protestant ministry, but abetted by some Catholic authorities, there is a marked tendency in our time to re-

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gard Christianity and the gospel of Jesus Christ as a program of social betterment and leveling reform, rather than a hope for individual salvation. This doctrine reached its climax in the so-called Social Gospel. One of its militant spokesmen is the Rev. E. Stanley Jones, prolific author and lecturer.

Jones holds that competition among business enterprises and individuals is an odious, outmoded system that is out of step with the modern world. He endorses the Marxian creed, "To each according to his needs, from each according to his ability," and adds, "I am persuaded that the Russian experiment is going to help – and I was about to say force – Christianity to rediscover the meaning of the Kingdom of God upon earth." He believes the Christian should work with anyone who is trying to bring about the new and higher order, "under whatever name he may work."

How innocent of the practical affairs of business many of our religious leaders are is illustrated in a passage from Christopher Hollis, a well-known Catholic writer, as quoted in *America*. An advertiser's activity is legitimate, Hollis says, only to the extent that he "is concerned merely to inform the public what goods are available and informs it in a reasonably attractive manner." He would thus condemn as outside the pale the variety of appeals to feeling in advertising. If the same rule were applied to religion, how far would the churches get in holding or adding to their following? If all preaching and ritual were confined to rational and essential appeals to reason, how many of our fine church "plants" would have to suspend activities? In fact, the churches are doing a large volume of advertising of their own, and they do inject highly emotional sales talk into their copy.

Referring to the scriptural adjurations to charity and benevolence, Heard and Opitz wrote in *The Kingdom Without God*: "There is nothing in any of these admonitions which can possibly be construed as sanctioning the use of political coercion to deprive some men of what is rightfully theirs for the dubious benefit of someone else."

On this score of the Christian ethics as a yardstick, at least one economics professor comes to the defense of business. Dr. Thomas L. Petit, Director of the Breech School of Business Administration at Drury College, Springfield, Missouri, said in a public address:

"First, it is true that businessmen do not live up to the ideal of Christian ethics, but this is not because they are businessmen; it

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is because they are men....Where is such a standard attained in American life?

"Secondly, important as Christianity is, it is not the only source of ethics in America. Therefore, to say that businessmen do not live up to Christian ethics is not the same thing as saying the businessmen do not live up to American ethical standards.

"Thirdly, many actions which seem incompatible with Christian ethics may not really be so if their significance in the situation in which they occur is truly understood."

The Christian world has come of age to the point where certain biblical injunctions are being interpreted more realistically, including the one about the individual undertaking to be his brother's keeper. More practical, and hence a better guide to everyday living, is the famous and oft-disputed passage in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*: "By pursuing his own interest he (the individual) frequently promotes that of society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good."

3. *The Politicians vs. Business*

It is a peculiar paradox that socialistic politicos, who are forever declaiming about "vested interest" have the strongest vested interest in arousing popular prejudice against business of any of the three critical groups that we are here discussing. "Why do you rob banks?" the bandit Sutton was asked at his New York trial. "Because that's where the money is," was his quite logical answer. And so we may say that in skinning Big Business before economically illiterate audiences is where the votes are to be had.

It should be made clear at this point that I am not labeling all politicians as demagogues. I know plenty who are both honest and intelligent. In fact, politicians as a class may well be as moral as lawyers, or teachers, or realtors, or farmers – and they unquestionably would assay better than labor leaders.

It is the reform politician whom business has to fear. There is gold for him in applying the method described by William Graham Sumner – how A and B put their heads together and decide what C shall do for D. The businessman is in the position of the unfortunate C. He is plagued by a plethora of planners who want to bring about the millennium with him picking up the check.

H. L. Mencken wrote a sentence that vigorously characterized the source of most of the political

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yammer about business. "Nine-tenths of the burbling against capitalism which now goes on in the United States," said the Baltimore satirist, "is done by mountebanks who dream of getting on top by changing the rules."

The Double Standard of Ethics

The critics of business seem to set a higher code of ethical behavior for businessmen than is expected of other mortals. The man of commerce is penalized by a double standard.

I have quoted Dr. Petit in defense of business against the ecclesiastical stricture that businessmen fall short by the measure of Christian ethics, when in fact no other group in American life lives up to that ideal. However, in the same speech Dr. Petit failed to follow his own guideline when he said: "Businessmen, unrestrained by government, may be free, but it does not follow that they want this freedom because of concern for the welfare of anybody but themselves."

This seems to say that businessmen advocate freedom of enterprise for selfish reasons, and by implication, that other groups do not, at least in equal degree. Would that be true of labor leaders, of farmers, of teachers, to name but three examples? To answer that these vocations are more unselfish in their aims would be a dogma of very doubtful validity.

Another authority who supports the double standard is Louis Finkelstein, Professor of Theology in the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York City. "Why do I single out the American businessman for indictment, when he is probably no more materialistic than any of the rest of us? I do so because of the responsibility he bears, because his role in American society is so great."

Dr. Finkelstein frankly admits that he poses a double standard – one for businessmen and a lower one for everybody else – and he attempts to justify this position. A similar stand was taken by Adolf A. Berle, who said, "The corporation, almost against its will, has been compelled to assume in appreciable part the role of conscience-carrier of twentieth century American society." Thus, on the one hand, business is loaded with opprobrium, and on the other hand, is told that "You are our model; you must be better than we."

Of course, this is an impossible role for any group to play. Businessmen are a cross section of the whole society, neither more nor less moral than the whole. The function of business is to feed and clothe and house and serve the people. It could do a better job if

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it were freer to meet that responsibility, with less lecturing and back-seat driving by the innumerable army of monitors of business. Let the whole people share in carrying the conscience of society.

There is an inclination to believe that when an action is contemplated, two alternatives will present themselves – one clearly labeled "Right," and the other "Wrong." Actually, there may be a choice of several courses of action, each of which has elements of moral sanction and other aspects of doubtful propriety. In short, we do not have just black and white indicia to guide our moral instinct, but also a large area of varying shades of gray. It is in this setting that a businessman must decide. He is called upon continually to exercise managerial judgment, not only in the economic zone, but in the ethical as well.

An example will clarify the point. Kindrick owned a successful camera and photographic materials store, the only one in his town until Wornall set up a competing business. Wornall was a CPA and his photo shop was a sideline, run by a young hired manager. It never did much good. After about two years, Kindrick offered to buy out his competitor. "I'll take over your inventory at cost or wholesale market value, whichever is lower, and give you $2,000 for any good will value there may be," he said.

"Oh, no, I couldn't do that," was Wornall's reply. "I'd rather go on with it, even if I only break even, than to take such a ridiculous figure." A year later, Wornall died suddenly. His widow, knowing nothing about business, came to Kindrick and asked him to buy the store on the basis of the offer originally made. Kindrick knew that the shop had run down somewhat since he tried to buy it. He knew, too, that Mrs. Wornall would have to sell it for whatever she could get, which would likely be the value of the inventory alone, and perhaps with depreciation deducted. Nevertheless, he agreed to purchase the stock and pay her $1,000, which after making other inquiries, she accepted. Here was a case where a businessman refrained from driving a hard bargain, and paid a higher price than he would have had to do. I believe the example is not exceptional.

The Businessman's Obligation to Himself

No one need apologize for an enlightened selfishness. When Jesus admonished Christians to "love thy neighbor as thyself," he was far from forbidding them to preserve a healthy regard for their own interests. One *should* love

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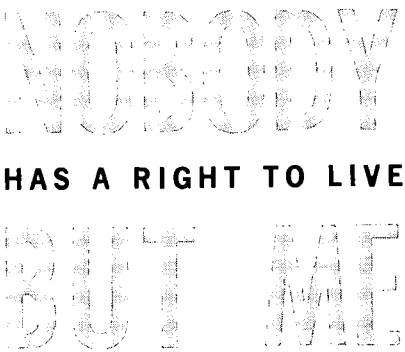
himself, too. Or, as the good Polonius phrased it,

> To thine own self be true,
> And it must follow as the night the day,
> Thou cans't not then be false to any man.

A man of action, intent on performance which is both successful and ethical, must strive to see that his actions are consistent with the principles he professes. To fail in that respect is the worst form of inconstancy. It's tough to part with one's friends on a controversial issue, but truth is superior to friendship. "What is right?" is always a relevant question. "Who is right?" may lead us astray. Abraham Lincoln's policy is a good guide: To go along with a man as long as he is right, and part from him when he is wrong. ◈



JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

BUSINESSMEN, so I am convinced, are the salt of the earth. They assume all the risks that go with creating the goods and providing the jobs that keep people alive. They accept crushing taxes, and they dutifully fill out reams of onerous forms. Whenever a businessman is called a "robber baron," I automatically bridle at the insult. There are times, however, when specific businessmen desert their own free enterprise philosophy, and when they do this, it is hard to speak up convincingly in defense of the system which has made the whole nation prosper.

If there is one thing a businessman should bend over backward

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to do, it is to give his competitor a free field with the expectation that no favors will be asked either way. The philosophy of competition demands it; the business system as a whole needs it if it is to put up any convincing argument against socialism. Yet every day, it seems, the newspapers are spotted with accounts of the attempts of a few businessmen to get a law or a regulation adopted which would make it more difficult for their rivals to bid for the customers' trade.

There are the truckers, for example – not all the truckers, but some of them. Through their trade association truckers have been calling upon the federal government to prevent railroad mergers. The railroads rightly retort that government regulation has already stacked the cards against them in their efforts to compete for the carrying trade of the country. They argue quite correctly that mergers should be permitted in order to help them stay alive. But just when I have worked up some indignation against the truckers and a corresponding measure of sympathy for the railroads, my eye lights on a speech or a resolution put forth by some railway spokesman calling for the suppression of coal slurry pipelines.

The coal men, of course, insist upon the right to pulverize coal and ship it through pipes in a liquefied form. Well, they certainly should have the right: pipelines are part of a free enterprise economy, and the railroads have no call to try to use legal force to sabotage them. But just when I am about to mount the intellectual barricades in behalf of the coal slurry men, my roving eye encounters a news story about coal men who are demanding that the government tighten up the regulations against the importation of foreign residual fuel oil.

So it goes, ring-around the-rosy. Everybody seems to be demanding free trade for himself and the suppression of everybody else. Theater owners march on Washington to testify against the licensing of pay-as-you-see TV systems. The free-lance dealers in commercial credit call upon the Department of Justice to force General Motors to divest itself of its big car credit affiliate, the General Motors Acceptance Corporation. Labor unions interpose no objections when the antitrust enforcers go after the manufacturers of brass goods or electrical equipment. But their spokesmen descend as a body on Washington to lobby against any proposition that might put industry-wide unions under the same antitrust regulations that apply to everyone else.

Not so many years ago Hans

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Isbrandtsen, the Danish-American ship line operator, had the bright idea of putting the United States, his adopted country, back into the whaling business. He bought an old U.S. Navy vessel and had it converted into a floating whale oil rendering factory. Unfortunately, he let a foreign oil tanker replenish his ship's fuel supply off the coast of Antarctica. The foreign oil tanker, to enable Isbrandtsen's crew to stay longer on the whaling grounds, loaded up in turn with some of Mr. Isbrandtsen's American-processed whale oil and tried to bring it into an American port. Whereupon spokesmen for the domestic lard and fish oil industries seized upon the technicality to claim that the Isbrandtsen whale oil, though it had originated in an American-owned operation, was "foreign" because it had been transported by a foreigner. They insisted that the oil must be taxed at the full rate for "alien blubber." With such an attitude to contend with, Isbrandtsen got out of the whaling business – and America was left without a whale ship on the Seven Seas.

Thus it goes when one industry invokes the power of the government to suppress another. But with everybody invoking the "law" to clobber his competitors, just who is safe? The truckers try to ambush the railroads, the railroads attack the coal slurry men, the coal slurry men proceed to smack the residual oil men, the oil men, in turn, clobber each other, depending on whether their wells are in America or overseas. And trade as a whole shrinks, and everybody gets clobbered in the end. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Who Ought To Be Boss?

THE QUESTION "Who ought to be boss?" is like asking, "Who ought to be tenor in the quartet?" Obviously, the man who can do the job.

HENRY FORD (1863-1947)

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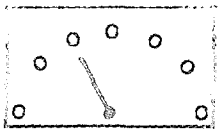

WITH TIME TO SPARE

JOHN C. SPARKS

THE SUBJECT of the church-sponsored area conference was automation and its relation to the church and society. I was invited to present the viewpoint of management, others on the panel being a union leader, a professional churchman, and an educator.

A film, prepared by the church denomination's professional social action staff, probed the problems of automation and set the stage for the panel discussion. The purpose of the conference was to prepare the conferees, chiefly clergymen and local church social action committee members, to guide the thinking on this subject in their respective churches.

The conference was conducted as an educational meeting and generated no resolutions or representations of majority opinion. This, I believe, is commendable church social action policy, for it may lead toward understanding while avoiding the all-too-frequent misrepresentation of issues involving man in society.

Not everything about the conference was encouraging, however. There was a disconcerting naiveté about basic economic matters evidenced by many of the participants as well as in the film. Without previous thought and study of automation, one could easily have concluded from the conference that automation was a serious problem to mankind rather than a blessing – a tragedy rather than an opportunity. There was genuine concern that automation had fallen upon the people, as an ill; therefore, the church had to become a leader of some sort to help correct the situation. And most eyes obviously were looking in the direction of social legislation. One suggestion offered for consideration was the enforcement of a shorter work week. Another idea was to distribute the "great surpluses" produced by automation on some basis other than the purchasing power of the would-be

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consumer. My interpretation of the church's role in the "problem" of automation differed greatly from the foregoing.

A Long Stick

Automation is a term now used to describe an allegedly new phenomenon. Yet the first primitive man, who found that a long branch broken from a tree would enable him to knock wild fruit to the ground, was a pioneer in the field of automation. It saved him time. And time to him was of great value, for he used every daylight hour and some of the night to put together barely enough food, scant clothing, and crude shelter to keep him and his family alive. There were not enough hours to keep his body satisfactorily, let alone time to reflect upon his soul.

If primitive man succeeded in his hunt for this bare subsistence, and if he successfully beat off wild animals and robbers, he could then hope to live to the ripe old age of thirty. So time saved meant much to him. He could spend it improving his material lot or, maybe, reflecting upon himself in a crudely philosophical or spiritual manner. Or, he could waste his time with some of his fellow long-branch fruit knockers lying along the riverbank consuming fermented berries.

Labor-saving devices – I like to call them human-burden-saving devices – have been a God-send to mankind, whether the device was a long branch broken from a tree, a crude hammer, a shovel, fertilizer, books, trucks, telephones, airplanes, electrical appliances, wonder drugs, or automatic presses. There is no distinction between a long stick and an automatic press, *except in degree*. And we should thank God for that wide degree of difference. Without the accumulation of tools and machines and the discovery of electricity and other energy-producing elements throughout all time, man would not have evolved one degree beyond the primitive condition of his ancient ancestors – either materially or spiritually. Furthermore, there would be fewer human souls to concern the church, since the geographic area of the United States would not likely support more than one million people if primitive conditions prevailed as in the time of the American Indians. Thus, one might conclude that the present population of the United States includes 179 million of us who would not exist at all – except for tools, machinery, automation, and the essential recognition of ownership that allows these human-burden-saving devices to be created and used. This thought should give pause to any person or institution inter-

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ested primarily in the cultivation and salvation of human souls.

During the colonial period in America, nine out of ten persons were required to produce enough food for themselves and for one other. Upon that "one other person," the food producers were dependent for their ready-made clothing, crude hardware, oil lamps, buckets, textiles, and horse carriages – as well as doctors, ministers, writers, and lawyers. The "one-out-of-ten" was spread mighty thin. The products and services from these nonfood producers naturally were scarce and expensive. And there were few available to invent, or to conduct scientific experiments, or to research into the field of medicine.

Time-Saving Devices

Today, our food is produced by not more than one person out of ten (positions reversed). And this ratio could drop further if the federal government would stop its farm subsidies and other interference in the market place. Nevertheless, this leaves nine persons out of ten to produce all the modern material conveniences we associate with our high level of living. As a result, a housewife may wash the dinner dishes and the family clothes and at the same time read a thoughtful book, or a trashy novel. Her husband can complete his forty-hour-a-week job and have at least as many hours left over for other constructive ends, including thought-provoking discussions and reading in regard to man's purpose; or, he may subject himself to the brain-numbing continuity of one TV program after another. Like his primitive ancestor, modern man has a choice between improving himself or wasting the time made available to him through the human-burden-saving devices we call automation. In addition, life expectancy has increased, so that besides the extra hours every day of his existence, man also has more years added on top!

To whatever one might attribute the increase in the level of living, the increase in the number of human lives and souls, the increase in life span, the increase in wealth devoted to churches, schools, hospitals, research centers, and similar beneficial ends that we tally on the side of better and higher quality living – none could have happened without automation, mechanization, tools, or that long branch from a tree.

A Challenge

Automation makes possible a general, widespread good, allowing life to be physically comfortable with automatic heating, air-conditioning, and other home

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appliances, and fast, pleasant transportation. But it also spills abundance into the educational and religious areas. Herein lies an exciting, king-sized part to be played, created out of automation. Remember, our primitive ancestor had little time to reflect on the higher life, the spiritual, the cultural – out of which springs mankind's real leadership. But with automation providing material wants in fewer hours, *today's man has time to spare.*

The church, therefore, has a big challenge confronting its professional and lay leaders – thanks to automation. The word "thanks" is used intentionally, in appreciation for an opportunity to lead contemporary man, who now has time to spare, into an area of deeper spiritual insight. A religious or philosophical break-through, equivalent to that achieved in the physical sciences, may be in the offing if we will but train our sights on this goal. Ideally, man needs two legs of the same length to make him well-balanced and whole. Our material leg has outgrown our spiritual leg. An opportunity exists. Church leaders should recognize it, rather than view automation as a "curse" or burden on the backs of men.

Is there danger that church leadership will fail to comprehend the deep significance of automation? At the conference I attended, economic understanding probably was no more lacking than among the general public; but misunderstanding in this instance is more critical, since many church leaders are prone to make public statements on economic matters. Social action positions are taken by large church organizations, and pronouncements of national church policy are made to the public.

Danger of Overproduction

A recurring fallacy during the discussions concerned the danger of overproduction: more goods will be produced by automation than people can afford to buy. As a well-known union official once put it, he was unconcerned about automatic machines not paying union dues, but he was concerned that automatic machines could not buy automobiles. A similar comment referred to a certain steel mill working at only 50 per cent capacity; automation was blamed for the layoff, causing more steel to be produced than people needed.

I have yet to meet a person without desire for more material goods. Is there a woman who would not like another dress or pair of shoes, or new draperies for the living room; or a man who has no desire for one item more of material wealth? Is there a hospital that could not use an

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additional piece of equipment, or a college not in need of a new wing? Our material wealth comes from production; and the more usable, desirable goods produced, the higher is our material level of living. Until everyone is fully satisfied materially – probably an impossible condition – there is no logic in the assertion that automation produces more than people can consume and that we are building great surpluses.

Surpluses occur only when *un*wanted products are produced. A private producer cannot long endure the economic losses of such poor business judgment. Only government seems able to "afford" to waste economic resources, as in subsidy programs causing wheat, cotton, and other agricultural products to be produced in excess of economic demand. This action encourages marginal farmers to raise unneeded crops instead of turning their efforts to the production of goods and services wanted for better living. Subsidized marginal farmers contribute nothing to the market place; like parasites, they sap the strength and livelihood of real producers.

Is Competition Christian?

Another fallacy was posed in the question, "Can competition be Christian?" In other words, are competitive relationships in a free market consistent with Christian principles? Certainly the laws of God uphold the right of ownership. Ownership, in turn, implies the right to trade – that is, to offer one's property in exchange for another's. In a free market, exchange takes place between two parties, *without coercion* – each feeling he has gained in the transaction. Why else would they agree to trade?

This is not to say that everyone who competes in the free market is religiously in accord with his God. But if he is not, the free market system is not to be held responsible for his moral or spiritual shortcomings. Similarly, one may not logically infer that, because baseball is a wholesome sport, all players are saints.

But the lack of competition is another matter. Here, one is certain to find unchristian acts, for lack of competition means an infringement upon the God-given right of each man to own that which he creates. Ownership is basic to the competitive free market system, and all persons seek to use or trade their goods and services most advantageously to themselves. The lack of competition must denote a situation of non-ownership or eroded ownership rights.

Competition enables those persons best qualified to perform in

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their respective occupations — surely a spiritual objective. This is the most simple and efficient way whereby each and all of us may best serve ourselves and one another. Without competition, such direction would have to come through authoritarian dictate — removing the God-given right of man to decide for himself.

Competition is not unchristian; it reflects high principles consistent with God's laws. But the lack of competition is, without a doubt, unchristian.

Cooperation

Another popular error was reflected in this half question, half statement: "If the free market can perform such wonders as professed by its advocates through competition, then think how much more could be accomplished if cooperation were substituted for competition!"

The false implication is that cooperation does not exist in the competitive system of free market exchange. Yet how does one explain the glass of orange juice I drank this morning? Common sense tells us there had to be cooperative effort all along the line in order to bring a glass of orange juice from Florida to Ohio. The owner of an orange grove had to cultivate, fertilize, irrigate, fight insects, protect against frost, and finally harvest the oranges. After sorting, some of the oranges were transported to a cannery, processed into juice, then canned and frozen. Refrigerated transportation facilities carried the frozen juice northward across the country to Ohio. After being temporarily stocked in the wholesaler's warehouse, part of the canned juice was trucked to the supermarket my wife patronized yesterday. Clerks placed the cans on display — my wife brought one home. This morning she opened it and made orange juice for our breakfast. My glass of juice cost me four cents.

Cooperation? More than I will ever be able to describe adequately. Automation? All along the line, including the electric can opener used near the end of the process.

Competition? My wife shops for food bargains at three supermarkets and several smaller grocery stores in our area. The favored supermarket in this case sells three brands of orange juice. My wife chose one. Why? I suppose price, quality, and taste entered into her selection. This brand is supplied by several wholesale companies. The manufacturer also competed — to buy fruit, to obtain as many of the best workmen available at the wages he could afford to pay, to process the fruit efficiently, to re-

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tain a capable advertising agency, to sell and distribute orange juice – and thereby to win sufficient acceptance in the market places of the nation to leave his company a profit. Competition? Ask any owner or manager. Each processor fervently wishes his competitors were less capable. Fortunately for everyone, strong competition is the discipline that results in better service, better products, and lower prices. And it is only in his role as a supplier of an economic good that any of us wishes he had no competition.

Cooperation and competition go hand in hand. The cooperation found in the competitive system is of the highest order – each person and each business firm, from the original source of the raw material to the final consumer, gives the best he can for the lowest price offered in the bargaining before the exchange was consumated – *all without any enforcement except the invisible discipline of the market place.*

Although several other false economic notions were voiced at the conference, only one more will be discussed: the contention that automation should bring about a rationing of work. Suggestions included an enforced shorter work week and legal bars against "moonlighting" – the practice of holding down an extra job.

The same error persists: less production and less effort is better for man than more production and more effort. How can we seriously entertain such a delusion? Surely, no historian can substantiate that any era of the past or any society ever thrived under this false idea. Surely, no moral philosophy condones this as a method for human development. Yet, there is real danger that many professional religious leaders today are being lured into this trap.

They are not alone. Embracing economic fallacy is quite common, but this neither excuses us nor the men dedicated to spiritual leadership. Nor will misguided sincerity protect their flocks from the unhappy consequences of unsound social legislation.

A Golden Opportunity for Spiritual Growth

What attitude should the church have toward automation?

Automation contributes an abundance of tangible and intangible wealth for everyone, including the church institution. Automation allows men more time to think and to reflect. It enables larger populations to come into existence, thus producing an abundance of human souls. Automation's priceless gifts are time, human lives, and material comforts. The stage thus is set to achieve

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deeper spiritual insight, the church's primary leadership and research function. Can its attitude logically be anything but warm welcome of automation? Hardly. This is the church's proper role. This is its exciting challenge.

With time to spare, thanks to automation, each man has the golden opportunity to use that saved time to help move him nearer his destiny. Whether or not spiritual institutions will seize upon the chance to provide real guidance does not alleviate each person's individual responsibility to use well the time he has been spared. ◈

HOW TO Pick a Pocket or TWO

TO A SMALL-TOWN FELLOW come to the big city it was bound to happen sooner or later, and finally it did. On the way to Wall Street, that den of iniquity, our pocket was picked in the subway, that haunt of the huddled masses.

Along with a couple of credit cards, an unfilled prescription for the drugstore, and a shopping list from the lady of the house, this skillful disciple of Fagin made off with $100, which for years we've kept secreted in the back of our wallet against such grave emergencies as running out of expense-account money in San Antonio or St. Paul.

Now being imbued with a Puritan ethic, we do not approve of pickpockets, especially those who pick our own. But in all honesty we must confess that purely from the standpoint of the nation's economic balance sheet there was no net loss to the country. Indeed, if some of the economic theories bruited about today are correct, it could be argued that the nation's economy had been helped thereby.

For our loss of $100 was somebody else's gain of $100, the one

From *The Wall Street Journal*, March 13, 1963.

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canceling out the other insofar as economic statistics are concerned. Furthermore, since there was a transfer of funds from one party to another there was a gain in the Gross National Product as well as the National Income. The fact that we paid an exorbitant price for the service received – namely, a lesson in personal finance management – is no concern in abstract economics.

Finally, we suspect the unknown artist of the subway is less well-endowed with worldly goods than we are, less likely to keep the money out of circulation as idle savings for a rainy day. So this transfer of our funds to his pocket probably resulted in an increase in the nation's consumer spending.

Whatever our personal feelings, then, the result represents a consummation devoutly to be wished by the influential thinkers of the day. The whole object of current economic policy is to increase the transfer of funds, raising the statistics of national income and the GNP, and especially such transfers of funds as may increase consumer spending. The sociological objective is called the "redistribution of income."

Hence, the great emphasis on government spending, which has gotten to be a large part of the GNP. There's no surer and more efficient way to transfer huge sums than to take taxes from citizens of, say, New York and spend them in New Mexico or Mississippi. According to this thinking, it's a further help if the dollars can be transferred from corporations and rich folk, who might have a proclivity toward savings, to the hands of those who will inject it more quickly into the spending stream.

We are told that the good effects of all this are enhanced if the government, unlike our friend on the subway, can spend more than it takes or at least seem to. Big deficits, especially those arising from tax cuts, allow more dollars to be put in some people's pockets without appearing to take quite so much out of other people's pockets.

True, this is illusory; what the government spends it must take away from somebody in some form. Nonetheless there's no denying it's less painful to steal a bit from everybody's dollars by inflation than to take the money away from them in immediate taxes.

On the subway we had a blissful ignorance of being plucked until, much later in the day, we found ourselves less well off than we thought. And even now we think there must be many a helpful pickpocket who wishes that policemen understood the ethics of the new economics. ◈

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to

JESS RALEY

Through the best of man's bequest to posterity, through the great works of art, literature, and music, runs a thread of hope. This hope or dream is that somehow, sometime, somewhere, everyone will be inspired to participate in the experience of individual freedom.

Freedom, often used, seldom understood, is a most provocative word. The fruits of freedom are tangible, and it is common nowadays to refer to them as inherent rights. But the essence of freedom is an exuberant individual experience, the culmination of personal effort, no more inherent than a classical education.

One may inherit brown eyes, black hair, a strong body, property, real and personal; but freedom must be earned by each individual and each generation. The course of this nation was charted by free men. Realizing that each generation must navigate the ship of state for a season, they devised the framework of limited government calculated to secure individual rights and create a social atmosphere most sympathetic to freedom. The mind of man cannot conceive an inheritance of greater magnitude than the opportunity for self-development thus guaranteed to each citizen of the United States. We believe such opportunity is the greatest heritage man may possess, but the guarantee of individual rights does not necessarily constitute freedom. The relationship here is roughly the same that a stack of lumber bears to a

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beautiful home. Lumber is a vital part of such home, but it may also be used for less artistic purposes, or left unattended to be warped and decayed by unsympathetic elements.

The absolute necessity of the personal experience of freedom may be illustrated by the fledgling fisherman as he hooks his first fish. All who have participated in this experience will agree that it feels better all over than any place else, but to make a nonparticipant understand completely is well beyond our power of communication. Sure, one may have been born near a lake or stream where the bass grow large, fight hard, and strike at anything. There may be little or no difficulty obtaining good, reliable tackle. The opportunity may be extended on a silver platter, as it were – even as the Founding Fathers have extended, to every citizen of these United States, the opportunity to be free – but every individual must make his own cast, ply his own line, and land his own fish.

In like vein, freedom: for millions of Americans it has come to mean no more than access to those rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Yet we know that a man may have access to a bathtub and remain dirty, if he chooses this course, rather than expend the effort required to draw a bath and wash himself. Real freedom can be experienced only by those with the knowledge, courage, and confidence to accept opportunity and responsibility and to oppose those elements conducive to slavery.

Freedom Rarely Achieved

From the beginning, great thinkers have been able to enjoy a degree of psychic independence, even while abiding in a slave state. On rare occasions free men have instituted governments affording a degree of physical liberty. Yet freedom is more than physical and more than psychic; it is, in fact, psychosomatic – an active merging of the two.

No nation may justly boast that a majority of its citizens are now, or ever have been, free. This includes the English colonies and fledgling United States of the eighteenth century, along with Greece at her best. A substantial minority, perhaps, but not a majority. All citizens of these United States have access to those rights guaranteed by the Constitution, yet we know these ideas were instituted, maintained, and advanced by a minority. The colonial soldier who fought bravely with visions of a high place in a dictatorial military government was no more free than the Tory who hoped to spoil his neighbor's property. In our time the person who would

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rob a bank, run a red light, or kill a buck out of season, except for fear of punishment, is no more free than one who is apprehended for doing these things.

All rights may appear inhibited to the slave who fails to marshal his motivations for the experience of freedom. The shiftless may find their right to own property void for lack of funds. This group will also find their right to vote for an outstanding candidate inhibited by the promise of a larger handout by those of proven incompetence. The irresponsible must observe his neighbor's boundary or be arrested for trespassing, and obey traffic rules or be deprived of his right to drive. The slothful is slave to whatever work circumstances may force upon him, and the uninformed finds all rights inhibited by ignorance.

Self-Responsibility

Freedom is many things to many people, but by and large a free man is restrained by no force outside himself. He is uninhibited by just laws because his own sense of justice embraces the spirit as well as the letter of the law. He is prompt to condemn and resist any law that imposes an injustice on any individual. He is not a slave to his profession because he takes pride in giving full measure for remuneration received. Family and social responsibilities are accepted as a joyous privilege. Since the free man is not seeking an unfair advantage, he can and does vote for the candidate most likely to respect the rights and the dignity of every individual and least likely to bow to any pressure group.

Wealth is not a factor in the experience of freedom. A ninety-gallon drum filled to the brim is no more full than a teaspoon in the same state; but if both are emptied, the contents of the drum will spread over a much larger area. Doubtless, there were unknown privates in the colonial army on the same plane with Washington, freedom-wise, but they could not have covered the area he did in founding the nation.

Obviously, the fullness of freedom may not be enjoyed under totalitarian government; but how can the wonders of freedom escape so many citizens of a nation founded on the proposition that all men should be free? There are many answers: lack of inspiration, understanding, communication; but for the most part, lack of courage.

Many Prefer Slavery

Those who have participated in the experience of freedom tend to feel that all people want to attain

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this high estate. This illusion is quite natural, but the sorry fact is that many people fear freedom. Living in servitude, separated from inspiration by some known or unknown force, the spark of greatness lies dormant within these persons. It is impossible for free men, inspired by lofty ambitions, to understand the type who rely upon and worship the Leviathan state. The slave by choice must be small in all things other than physical bulk. Unable to control his own emotions and affairs, he judges everyone by himself. Knowing he would take anything he could get away with, he fears for his own life and property. This man is happy when he can barter his opportunity to *live* for the doubtful promise of peaceful existence under any totalitarian government that offers to protect and provide for him. These persons are wrong, as was their outstanding spokesman, Thomas Hobbes, in their belief that they can actually own property and enjoy certain other fundamental rights while abiding in such a state.

This type is with us today, as it has been from the beginning. (The Hebrews said, "Give me a king." The Romans said, "Give me a Caesar." Many Americans are saying, "Give us socialism.") Thus, we see the hopeless and near-hopeless, the failures of this generation; but the seeds of freedom are not dead, only dormant. With better communication and understanding, their sons and daughters may be inspired to launch out in the quest for freedom.

It Must Be Earned

Lack of knowledge concerning man's relationship to freedom may confuse and frustrate many people who ought to be free. Generally speaking, a citizen of these United States is first exposed to the theory that freedom is inherited. (Many teachers still confuse the genuine article with the equally rare opportunity to earn.) When the intelligent youth becomes aware of the fallacy of this theory, he may cast about in frustration until arriving at the equally false conclusion that all men are slaves to something. This theory, from the stagnant philosophy of past civilizations, holds that the shepherd is slave to his flock, the smith to his forge, the baker to his oven, and so on. Those who succumb to this theory should know that the civilizations which spawned it have long since passed.

The phrase, "free as a bird," is often used to emphasize an unrestrained condition, but we know that many birds must migrate to survive. All must build a nest and

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feed their young or the species becomes extinct in one generation. It is possible, of course, to live a life of servitude while abiding in the most desirable social atmosphere on earth. This truth is manifest in fathers who hate their work and mothers who deplore their estate. Surely such people could not be classified as free. As a matter of fact, many people are slaves to something, but in the United States such a life is unwarranted and inexcusable.

Duties of Citizenship

One who participates in the experience of freedom embraces the responsibilities of citizenship with uninhibited dexterity. The slave cowers in the background when possible and exerts no more than token effort when driven to perform. These hitchhikers take advantage of all by-products of freedom but can contribute nothing to a free society, because they are slaves to their own superficial motivations. In the midst of unlimited opportunity they exist in a world of perpetual restraint, a great liability to their country, to society, and even to themselves.

The tale is told of three men employed to build a house. A fourth man stopped and asked each of the three what he was doing. The first man answered that he was earning three dollars an hour. The second said he was providing for his family. The third man answered that he was building someone a beautiful home. To be sure, this man was earning substantial wages and supporting his family; but more than this he was happy and unrestrained, the master rather than the slave of his profession. The same holds true in all walks of life. Those who expend a bare minimum of effort will find their work very difficult, no matter what the task. One who freely gives a little extra time and thought will understand his work better, and experience little if any difficulty or restraint. Obviously, then, the smith who controls the fruit of his forge with love and dexterity is master rather than slave. Free men know this to be true; but how communicate such experience? How can the slave be inspired?

The Voice of Freedom

Persons who have not played baseball are unlikely to become greatly enthused about someone hitting a ball with a stick; while those who have participated in the game may share, with an unknown player, the thrill of a well-hit ball. Fishermen speak a universal language. When a fellow Izaak Walton tells of landing a prize trout, they can feel the tug and see the spray. In relation to freedom,

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these experiences would rate as miniature firecrackers alongside the most powerful bomb. Nevertheless, only a free people understand clearly the voice of freedom.

Attempting to communicate through this barrier helps one understand the minister who looked over the faithful few and said, "The people I am speaking to this evening are not here." Hopeless as the task may appear, some way must be devised to reach those not present – inspire them to participate in this most exuberant of all adventures.

Most provoking of all, to those who know a full measure of freedom, is the person almost persuaded. This individual appears to be endowed with all attributes peculiar to free men. He is aware of the socialist trend, sees the injustice, feels the shame, senses the need to break the bonds of group pressure, but lacks just a bit of courage, one small nudge.

To the almost persuaded I would address one last appeal: Remember that only the free have the capacity for self-government; and only in a society dedicated to freedom have sons and daughters the opportunity to try. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY ***Democracy and Progress***

IT IS COMMONLY BELIEVED that the "democratic process" will assure progress. But there is no way of designating excessive governmental activity so as to assure that it will aid progress rather than stop progress.

Progress arises in every instance out of an extreme minority of opinion, not the majority of opinion. The seedlings of progress are often so small and unnoticed that they are ignored by those who would otherwise destroy them in ignorance as "evil" thought or acts. But if everything were to be subjected to majority rule, every step of progress would presumably be destroyed in its infancy.

F. A. HARPER, *Liberty: A Path to Its Recovery*

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with Faith and Patience

From a letter to a discouraged friend

D. M. WESTERHOLM

YOUR VOICE sounded so woe-begone that I think I must do the unforgivable – offer advice! This advice, you understand, has neither authoritative backing nor proof of efficacy; but it is honestly offered by one who has found it personally helpful through long usage. It contains only five words:

"Proceed, with Faith
and Patience."

I recall first hearing these words when I was about five years old, and the speaker was my beloved great-grandfather. A dearer, wiser man I have never known – but one such is richness enough for a lifetime. He was a poet – by desire; a philosopher of strength and depth – by intellectual circumstance; a minister of the Methodist Church – by conviction; and the administrator, in later life, of a church-supported orphanage – both by reason of choice, and the simple fact that it was there to be administered.

He usually lived at the orphanage, as did his good wife, instead of at his comfortable home, because he "could not expect the children's needs to follow a nine-to-five schedule." This was an example of his creed in action; and he followed this creed faithfully in every other situation I observed. He was a lover of freedom, long before it became apparent to most that we were beginning to lose it. He fought quietly for freedom when the Sixteenth Amendment was brewing. He had spoken out firmly (although ineffectively) against the opening volleys of statism's attacks in the instance of the Spanish-American War.

He was quite sure that a major financial collapse was inevitable and that the steps which would probably be employed to deal with this crisis would carve away great chunks of individual liberty. He did not think the people would heed the warnings given to them, but he kept right on quietly writing and working, anyway. He proceeded, with faith and patience.

He *proceeded;* he did not stop. Why? Why would a man of realistic intelligence persist in ap-

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parently throwing away his efforts, his words, and his beliefs? Because it also was his belief that words of truth, if clearly and logically expressed, are not wasted. They will live on, in some manner, somehow, whether on the printed page or through the efforts and thoughts of some other individual who hears, heeds, understands, accepts, and then in turn passes the idea along. A truth is no less the truth because few believe it, nor is this a reason or excuse for the withholding of truth.

Great-grandfather always hoped that he might be wrong, because he genuinely loved people and did not wish to see them hurt themselves – even by way of their own cupidity or sloth. But he was pretty sure they would be hurt, simply because they probably would learn in no other way.

In short, he was in harmony with most of the freedom philosophers in believing that freedom would most likely have to be lost, or nearly so, before most people would awaken to either the fact or the depth of their loss. He further believed that it was the duty as well as the nature of philosophers and true historians to keep alive the knowledge of freedom throughout these dark periods, so that it would be serviceable, available, and up-to-date when eventually called for again.

He held no rancor about this blindness to the obvious. Never did I hear him express the all-too-human reaction: "It jolly well serves 'em right!" He simply accepted people for what they usually are: lazy to react even to the obvious, and much more interested in today than in tomorrow. Not that he was incapable of anger, for the scars of impatience were apparent in his earlier writings; but he was much too intelligent (and as he would have it, much too lazy!) to harbor emotions which would produce only negative results. Anger alone would not live, however justified it might seem. Truth would live. And so he kept proceeding, with faith and patience – and a hearty chuckle at frequent intervals. Not derisive chuckles, please understand; just amused and warm expressions of delight at the utter predictability of mankind in general.

Pressure for Progress

His predictions have nearly all been realized (and, of course, he was far from alone in these predictions). Socialism, and statism – in case you do not yet consider these two terms synonymous – are becoming truly the ends to their own destruction. Circumstances apparently had to reach at least such a critical point as we have at

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present before most people would begin to awaken, but they seem now to be awakening. We are now seeing what appears to be the cresting of a resurgence of freedom – awareness, thought, and activity.

It has taken patient, long-sustained effort to overcome the apathy and neglect in order to start this great wave; but the crest, the visible portion, is now forming, too. We can see more evidence of it every day. It hasn't gained a great deal of momentum as yet – but it will. It cannot escape it, for that is the nature of the thing. And, of course, once momentum is fully gained, no one can stop it. In fact, the problem then will be to guide and direct it in such a way that an inundating tidal wave does not occur – which could be quite as destructive in its own way as was the former apathy! The tendency to produce just such a tidal-wave potential, as I conceive it, is the main reason I am wary of "Hurry, hurry, hurry" organizations. So, we must still proceed, with faith and patience, and with a sound grasp on our precious sense of humor.

An Irresistible Urge

As I see it, the only thing which might cause this newly churning mass *not* to crest into a beaching-wave of major size would be for all freedom workers simply to quit cold and say in unison: "It can't work . . . I quit." But we will not stop, of course, because in a sense we cannot. We must speak the truth when and how it is shown to us, and speak more loudly, more logically, more appealingly than do the destroyers of freedom.

As for individual freedom workers, some of them may stop – certainly – but not all of them. Never. For it is the thoughtful man's nature to seek ever after freedom; and in order to gain it for himself, he must necessarily gain it for others as well. So, he will speak out; even in the teeth of a gale of pessimism and misunderstanding and in the sickening calm of apathy.

Each Does What He Can

Now, I myself can do little actively to assist the cause of liberty; my tools are too small, weak, and fallible. But what I can do, I will do, always with the help of Divine guidance, and constant less glorious reminders. And with the strengthening thought of our old friend, proceeding, with faith and patience – and humor. So, you see, my grandfather's words were not lost after all. They are being carried on by others, of which I am but the very least. And so it is with all of the solid freedom philosophers of yesteryear.

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So, too, with all who truly love and thus must speak the truth. If it takes catastrophic events to let the truth be recognized, then so be it. As we so well know by the most casual study of history, unhappily enough for mankind, it has invariably been so. The catastrophe must then be the only finally effective catalyst – and wise freedom workers will follow through in the path of this catalytic reaction, regretting that such a painful stimulus was necessary, but recognizing also that man is simply what he is; and recognizing, further, that trying to force any man to be more than he is, spiritually or intellectually, is virtually impossible. Man must always choose his beliefs for himself. He cannot be forced in matters of conviction – only in matters of the body is force effectual. I think that this is probably a very necessary protection, given us by our Creator, as a safeguard against our being forced to accept that which is morally bad, including those things which someone may mistakenly, though sincerely, believe is "for man's good." It is in this recognition that perhaps the biggest portion of the "patience" is necessary.

The "faith" is best used to hold to the belief that freedom can still be salvaged when we are so perilously close to the brink. But then, that is precisely what makes a brink catalytic: that one can only *see* it as one *nears* it. And, of course, it must be actually *seen* by those who are otherwise unable intellectually to *conceive* it.

Working with Children

Now, Priscilla, let me try to answer your question about why I seem to limit my "freedom activities" to the children, directly or indirectly, instead of joining political organizations, doing public speaking, and the like.

There are several mingled reasons, of course. One is that our actual family unit – the children, my husband, myself, and our home – constitute my primary basic responsibility. It was a voluntarily assumed responsibility – a contractual one, if you wish. To fulfill it to the best of my ability consumes the major portion of my waking hours. There just isn't enough time, physically, for much more than that in the way of outside activities – unless I renege on some part of my primary duties; and I very seldom feel justified in doing this.

Second, I have so darned much self-improvement to accomplish, I can't very well run about telling other people how to improve their organizations or themselves without appearing as idiotic as the stable-boy who was always telling

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the jockeys how to ride the Derby!

And third, this great-grandfather of mine passed on when I was only 14 years old. In those few early years he managed to teach me lessons that I am only really beginning to understand now — yet they persisted, clearly, all these years. My slowness to implement the lessons was no fault of his. With such an example of pedagogical faith — backed up solidly by my parents as well — could I do less for my own children? I think not.

Oh, sure, I get carried away sometimes, and start thinking I'm a graduate student instead of a freshman; but invariably something comes along to pop that ridiculous balloon!

This happens to be my own way of looking at it. It may make no sense at all to someone else. I'm not saying it's the *right* way, only that it is *my* way. About the biggest waste of a precious lifetime, I should think, would be to spend that lifetime trying to live in a fashion other than that which seemed right to *me*. This does not mean that I am unwilling to learn new ways, to accept new tools, or even to change my plotted course — but it does mean that the acceptance must be *mine*, completely. For only then can I proceed, with faith and patience. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Path to Survival

WE NEED A RESTORATION of our faith in liberty, our faith that free men can and will provide for themselves and their society the good life which no other concept of man and government has yet produced. Our path to survival lies in removing the restraints to the creative and productive energy of a free people....

Let each believer who has faith in the freedom formula advance this objective in whatever way his best judgment dictates, and let each of us who has this faith at least help others understand the simple truth that Socialism can't work and never has worked, that no person living or dead knows how to make Socialism work, but millions of Americans left to work out their own economic well-being in a free market can and will, with the help of God, repeat the miracle that is America.

WILLIAM A. JAHN
From an address, "The Free Market"

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INDIANS
UNDER CONTROL

EDNA SHAKER

WHAT GOVERNMENT CONTROL and bureaucracy can do to a people is not a matter for guessing or speculation. All around us we can see the stifling impact of the state. But nowhere in this country is there more of a laboratory case of government restriction and its deleterious consequences than has been inflicted on the American Indian.

A more regimented and minute grasp of peoples' lives by the state probably does not exist outside the communist bloc.

There are now about 380,000 Indians on several dozen reservations, primarily in the western states, which taken together amount to a land area greater than New England. The maze of legal directives, prescriptions, and specifications shackling their lives is truly staggering. Now on the books are 389 treaties, 5,000 statutes, 2,000 federal court decisions, more than 500 Attorney General opinions, hundreds of Interior Department and Solicitor rulings, and literally thousands of administrative regulations and a massive manual for Bureau of Indian Affairs operations.

The BIA is the principal government overlord of the Indians. Its 15,000 employees work out of 10 area offices and 500 field installations directed by the Washington Central Office. This is not all. At least 7,000 other government workers spread among other Departments, principally Health, Education and Welfare, and Agriculture, are involved in Indian affairs. Thus the ratio of federal government personnel to Indians regulated is an incredible 1 to 18. The states also have employees dealing with Indian matters on a lesser scale.

Since 1900 over three billion dollars have been spent for servicing and regimenting these unfortunate *de facto* wards of the state. The annual amount has jumped in recent years so that for the coming fiscal year, a sum equal to $725 for every Indian man, woman, and child will be appropriated.

Miss Shaker is a retired high school teacher and part-time lecturer living in Connecticut.

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The Sad Results of Intervention

The 75-year result of all this bureaucratic domination and billions of dollars stands as eloquent testimony of the futility and debility incurred by the "state way." American Indians have been maintained in a state of shocking poverty, ignorance, disease, and complete dependence. Average per capita yearly income runs around $200. Of 380,000 reservation Indians, only 100,000 are considered employable; the rest are too young, too infirm, or too unskilled. But even after this drastic selection process, 40 per cent of the 100,000 considered capable of working are unemployed. Compare these figures with the 4 to 6 per cent alleged to be unemployed for the labor force as a whole.

The educational level of Indians is abysmally low. Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs gives out glowing enrollment figures of 90 per cent of all Indians under eighteen years of age, the actual attendance figures are much lower. Why should poor parents send their children to below par Bureau schools to indoctrinate them into a way of life that one Indian war veteran described as "abide and ye shall receive your handout." Many Indians, young and old alike, so fear and dislike BIA officials that they identify everything about "the white man's ways" with these officials, including the learning of English. Many know no English at all.

The average Indian life span is about 45 years. Infant mortality rates are about three times as high as the average for all Americans. Death rates from such preventable diseases as gastroenteritis, influenza, pneumonia, and tuberculosis run up to eight times higher than in the general population. It is clear that the federal government has not even been able to do a minimum job of sustaining health.

Much reservation land is held by the government in so-called trust for individuals or tribes. This means that if a Crow or Blackfoot Indian wants to sell or lease or improve his land, permission must be granted through a labyrinthine hierarchy involving delays, uncertainty, endless legal interpretations, and frustration. Just as intolerable is the assumption of incapacity or wardship which has indentured Indians to the state.

Millions of dollars of Indian money, received by income from leases, judgments, and other sources, are held by the U.S. Treasury instead of letting the Indians invest their funds in their economic development. Statutes, regulations, and intricate procedures tell the Indians how and under what circumstances they can

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hire technicians and counselors and under what supervision by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Paperwork

The Secretary of the Interior maintains minute regulations of even minor actions by Indians and their tribal governments. The BIA, by its close control of budgets and expenditures on reservations, insures that there will be little private initiative and decision-making. The restraints on the efforts of Indians to improve themselves and to develop their own property are so vast and specific as to be almost inconceivable. For many matters relating intimately to the lives and plans of Indians, they are neither consulted nor informed before the decision is taken in Washington.

The regimentation, which for decades has cost taxpayers millions and has kept the Indians dependent on government bureaucracy while draining away even the hope of self-betterment, can be seen in one illustration out of many that could be cited. Suppose a group of Indians got together to hire an architect-engineer to build a lumber mill. The architect and any other technicians who contract to do the work must itemize the cost of each meal consumed and make sure to list the tips separately. They must state the subject and cost of every long-distance telephone call. They then submit the voucher to the tribe, which is required to send it to the Area Office for approval, where, upon arrival, it goes on to a Field Solicitor who, if he concurs, passes it on to the Superintendent who, if he approves, returns it to the tribe for payment. All this elaborate paperwork and channeling must be undertaken even if only one telephone call is involved.

Supervised Stagnation

For years the attitude of the BIA was that the 57 million acres of Indian land offered little or no opportunity for economic development. It had never made any studies to confirm this observation and an entrenched bureaucracy was not interested in possibly undermining their comfortable status quo by probing for resources that would make the Indian self-reliant, self-productive, and free, as he so fervently wished to be.

It is now unequivocably certain that sufficient resources exist on Indian lands to afford Indians prosperity and independence instead of the state-imposed servility which is now their bitter lot. The lands are rich in timber, forage, minerals, agricultural products, and fisheries. Many reservations include attractive mountains, lakes, streams, forests, and

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even deserts, offering potential recreational and relaxational facilities which could blossom into a vast tourist industry. But the Indians never have been allowed the freedom to exploit these marvelous endowments for a progressive and distinct life of their own. In the rare instances where they have had an opportunity to be self-sufficient and their own masters, away from the reservations and BIA dominance, Indians have achieved success and self-fulfillment in all fields of human activity.

BIA Knows Best

After nearly a century's smothering of the spirit of a proud, independent people and preventing their rising out of degradation and poverty, who has benefited? Principally, job holders whose weekly salary from the BIA was guaranteed. This is not to say that BIA employees are incompetent or have any but the best of intentions; the system largely demands that they act as they do. But the premise is, as always, that BIA knows best. In most addresses, statements, and discussions by the BIA or other officials about the "Indian problem," as it is called, the base point is always what the government should do for the Indian. It is made quite clear that the federal government is to continue its domination of the Indians far into the future.

The idea that Indians should be completely liberated to apply their intelligence and energy to the development of the vast resources available to them is not contemplated.

Any enterprise in a free market which has losses for a few years running is almost sure to find itself bankrupt and out of business. Federal Indian policy and the BIA have been showing "losses" for more than a century. In maintaining Indians as wards, the government has done worse than nothing; it has struck at the very nerve center of human dignity by prohibiting responsibility, initiative, creativity – that individual self-determination which is the touchstone of the founding philosophy of this country. How many Indians, wasting their lives away on the reservations, might have been great writers, artists, scientists, entrepreneurs, and statesmen? The number will never be known, but the controls responsible for the situation are visible in all their pervasive cruelties.

What the BIA can do for the Indian is very simple. It can recommend its own dissolution and terminate what one brave congressman recently described as "the world's most vicious socialist system." ◈

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Our Heritage Affirmed – and Denied

Techniques in politics are one thing. And the moral view of man is another. Yet the two things cannot be separated, for "methodology" in politics is indissolubly connected with a people's conception of its proper moral life.

In the eighteenth century, when the American colonies were severing their connection with the British Empire, the Christian view of man's nature prevailed. This is magnificently established in a grand collection of contemporary documents assembled in a huge book called *Self-Government With Union* (San Francisco: American Christian Constitution Press, 617 pp. $9), which is volume two in a Christian History of the U.S. Constitution that will run to four big installments before it has been completed.

The documents in this particular installment are drawn from sources as widely scattered in space and time as the New Testament, the writings of Grotius, Pufendorf, and John Locke, the speeches of Sam Adams and James Otis, and the acts of "tyranny" perpetrated by the ministers and parliaments of King George III of England and objected to by many colonial citizens who are also liberally quoted. There are long selections from "natural law" thinkers extending over some twenty centuries. To provide a sense of narrative, the compilers of this book have levied, for connective tissue, upon a number of excellent though largely forgotten historians, from John W. Burgess to Richard Frothingham – proving, incidentally, that American historical writing did not begin with Charles A. Beard and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Felix Morley has provided a perceptive introduction.

The general thesis of the book is that man is by nature a free moral agent, endowed with a conscience and a sense of responsibil-

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ity. Certain rights are commensurate with his nature. If that nature is not violated, he will, in concert with his fellow citizens, establish a limited government to protect his inalienable natural rights. If he lives in a large land of great geographical variety, he will seek a blend of local and central government, letting the larger political unit handle only a few stipulated things such as foreign affairs, the regulation of the currency, and the conduct of commerce on a nation-wide basis. In brief, the nature of man results in what we now speak of as the Madisonian system, which leaves much to local government and to private individuals. Christianity is a true expression of the nature of man, or at least thoroughly congruent to it, and the Madisonian system may be deduced in its outlines from Holy Writ.

Christian Orientation

All this being true, as attested by the documents and the historians quoted in *Self-Government With Union,* we got a form of government in 1787 that was an inevitable extension of what had been happening to the minds of men of English descent ever since Wycliffe and a couple of friends or pupils translated the Bible. The colonies had originally been settled by men who were convinced by their own reading of Scripture of their Christian and individualistic worth. In the early New England Confederation, and in the abortive talks about the Albany plan of cooperation, they had shadowed forth the idea of pooling certain of their functions and resources to protect themselves against repetitions of the Deerfield Massacre and the sack of Schenectady by the Red Men. The Madisonian conception of federalism for limited purposes, with all its technical paraphernalia of checks and balances, regional concurrent vetoes, enumerated federal powers, and taxation for revenue only, was in the air long before "Little Jamie" was born.

Departures from Tradition

Whether it is still in the air is now a subject for debate. When Southern Democrats combine with Northern Republicans to defeat a presidential bill or policy in Congress, we see the Madisonian system at work. But when administrative agencies make their own laws, we dimly feel that the system of checks and balances and regional concurrent vetoes has been superseded by something else. To a Cuban like my friend, Dr. F. Penabaz, the United States no longer seems to have a government of laws; it has become, so Penabaz says, a government of men. A

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private citizen, James B. Donovan, makes agreements on his own with Castro, the tyrant of a foreign power – and nobody rises to complain.

The Bill of Rights says that all powers not assigned by the Constitution to the federal government shall belong to the states or to private citizens – yet the Supreme Court rules that the non-enumerated right to establish schools or the right to set up local voting conditions really belongs to Washington, D.C., not to local legislatures under the Tenth Amendment. It's all very confusing until we stop and reflect on the fact that many modern Americans have lost any sense of connection with the Christian tradition and the Madisonian techniques of government that are the natural expression of that Tradition.

A Semantic Twist

The nature of man does not, of course, really change, but James MacGregor Burns, author of *The Deadlock of Democracy: Four-Party Politics in America* (Prentice-Hall, $5.95) thinks it does. His own view is that man is not a creature of inalienable rights. To Professor Burns, man is a creature of wants, and any want that can be certified as desirable by 51 per cent of the population is legitimate no matter what havoc it creates among those who take their inalienable rights seriously. The natural political expression of this view of man is the leader, the duce, the fuehrer. Once a rapport has been established between a majoritarian group and a leader, there is no excuse in Burns's mind for a "deadlock" imposed by a Madisonian House of Representatives Committee chairman, or a little group of willful senatorial filibusterers, or an anti-presidential Congress elected in a nonpresidential year.

Professor Burns's book is learned; he knows the techniques of politicians, and he is particularly impressed with the ability which our "strong" presidents, from Jefferson to Harry Truman, have shown in getting their way despite Madisonian checks and balances and regional concurrent vetoes. But his book depends for its final force on his assumption that "leadership" qualities and a belief in modern collectivistic liberalism are co-extensive. Passing by this assumption for the moment, Professor Burns neatly divides each major political party into two parties, the "congressional" and the "presidential." The "congressional" Democratic Party, drawn largely from the Southern states, tends to vote with the "congressional" Republicans, mainly rural in origin. The "presidential" Dem-

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ocrats and Republicans, on the other hand, will often ally themselves to support the demands of the "liberal" man in the White House.

"Leadership" Means Turn Left

When the truisms of Professor Burns's reporting on the natural workings of Madisonian government have been accepted, however, it by no means follows that the author's definition of "leadership" as consisting only of an ability to force "liberal" or "internationalist" policies on a people is worth very much. Professor Burns manages everything to his own semantic convenience. When a William Howard Taft in the White House makes common cause with a conservative Senator Nelson Aldrich, Taft is a "congressional" President, not a man who is using an Aldrich to help put over his own conservative point of view. But when William Howard Taft, as an ex-president, puts on his "internationalist" hat to help further the cause of a League to Enforce Peace or a Hague International Tribunal, he belongs to the Republican "presidential" party. A Nelson Rockefeller, being "liberal" in the Burns sense, is a "presidential Republican" even before he gets the Republican nomination, but a Barry Goldwater, who might use the power of the White House to oppose the growth of the welfare state if he were elected President, would not be a "presidential" Chief Executive even if he succeeded in making his own forcefully held ideas prevail. Goldwater's philosophy guarantees him against acceptance by Professor Burns as a "leader."

Professor Burns plays his semantic tricks on virtually every decisive page of his book. Grover Cleveland, to pick one example, was not a "leader" or a "presidential" Democrat when he vetoed bills which offended his ideas of fiscal integrity. But Bryan would have been a "presidential" President if he had beaten McKinley and put the nation on a silver standard. Does such a play with words make any sense?

In view of its semantic antics, Professor Burns's book boils down to a straight plea for a philosophy of man's nature and its expression in government that denies our whole history as a people. The entire tradition of the American Republic is so alien to Professor Burns that it is doubtful that he could read the documents collected in *Self-Government With Union* with any comprehension. ◈

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▸ *THE FATEFUL TURN* by Clarence B. Carson (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., 255 pp. $3.50 cloth, $2 paper).

Reviewed by Melvin D. Barger

A critical degree of collectivism is the established order in the United States today; a situation we have backed into, many think, or had left on our doorstep by a kind of social "drift." Historian Carson thinks otherwise. In this remarkable analysis he offers compelling evidence that the "drift" was rather the inevitable result of a course plotted by persuasive leaders and influential thinkers of the nineteenth century, by men who gradually uprooted traditional American beliefs in individual liberty and planted the seeds of collectivism. The result has been a vast enlargement of government powers and an enhancement of prerogatives of privileged groups at the expense of individuals.

When did all of this take place and who were the influential thought leaders? The nineteenth century assault on the traditional values was mounted by such men as Marx, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and later Freud, but it was the theory propounded by Darwin that probably proved most corrosive. For whatever Darwin's evolutionary theories may have seemed on the surface, they contained implications which are incompatible with belief in natural rights, immutable law, human reason, and the worth and dignity of man. As the deeper implications of Darwinism were accepted by the intellectual community, the older outlook was rejected. From there, it was an easy walk into widespread acceptance of economic determinism, environmentalism, and behaviorism – theories that left no room for such a thing as man's free will and, by implication, a Creator who would call him to account for his actions. An almost fatal blow was delivered to self-reliance, individual initiative, and personal independence.

In the 1880's, the "fateful turn" in law and government began when the Supreme Court upheld the doctrine that a corporation is a person (thus conferring special privilege on a certain kind of association), and Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act, an opening wedge for a regulated economy. Dr. Carson does not hold businessmen blameless for the "turn" and feels that their actions in turning to government for special powers and solutions to their own problems helped bring the controls they fret under. Other collectives appeared, too, such as unions and farm groups, all de-

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manding special powers and favors. The trend was mild at first, but it finally reached floodtide proportions and culminated in the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the New Frontier.

Dr. Carson's major target, however, is not the collectivist programs themselves, which he seems to view as effect rather than cause. He attaches far more significance to something he calls the "collectivist curvature of the mind," which depends for its existence on the organic view of society – on viewing society and groups, rather than the individuals comprising them, as living things.

After Darwin and the earlier thinkers laid down the first challenge to the older ideas, subsequent writers, educationists, jurists, and novelists completed their work. The American tradition was discredited before it was replaced, and some of those who participated in this large-scale assault were men like Henry George, Eugene Debs, Edward Bellamy, Jack London, H. L. Mencken, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, Sinclair Lewis, and many others. This was not a conspiracy, though some of the work was carried out by organized groups of communists, socialists, and progressives.

Some individualists tried to effect a co-existence with collectivism through compromise. But individual liberty lost every time – for the simple reason, Dr. Carson believes, that the principle of liberty is not negotiable. He cites Herbert Hoover as a dedicated individualist who made the mistake of compromising with collectivist principles, only to lose out all around. And he has hard words for today's so-called mixed economy, which is actually a halfway house on the road to more socialism.

Is the outlook hopeless for those who would restore individual liberty? Dr. Carson doesn't think so, and he refuses to accept the subtle notion that collectivism is "the wave of the future." To the contrary, he suggests that collectivism itself may be on the verge of being discredited, and that a restoration of the American tradition might be not only possible but imminent. He has no wish to "turn back the clock," but he points out that historically it has often been necessary to recover the lost traditions of a previous period; Charlemagne, for example, restored order and security in the chaos that was Western Europe by looking back to the model of Rome. And Dr. Carson also concedes that industrialization, urbanization, and mechanization bring their own social and economic problems that must be solved. But he refuses to believe

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that the resultant complexity makes government intervention unavoidable; in fact, the opposite may well be the case.

The Fateful Turn has a way of reminding one of Hayek's powerful *Road to Serfdom* of two decades ago. And as one scrutinizes the ideas and actions of those who executed the fateful turn, he is also reminded of Hayek's comment about those who brought to Germany the social change that finally became National Socialism: "The supreme tragedy is still not seen that in Germany it was largely people of good will, men who were admired and held up as models in the democratic countries, who prepared the way for, if they did not actually create, the forces which now stand for everything they detest." One wonders if that same supreme tragedy will be recognized when collectivism finally goes completely sour in America.

▶ AUTOMATION: THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE by Yale Brozen. (Washington, D. C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1963. 44 pages. $1.00)

Reviewed by Paul L. Poirot

AUTOMATION, concludes the eminent professor of economics in the Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago, makes it possible to do more things and have more things than otherwise. It is to be welcomed rather than feared.

The rate of automation depends upon the availability of capital, and is necessarily slow. Much new capital is required each year to equip 1.3 million or more new entrants to the labor force. And the more highly mechanized a job, the more capital is required for further automation in that area. So automation is not a sudden upheaval that may overwhelm us.

Technological change, says Dr. Brozen, created 20 million new jobs during the decade of the fifties, while various causes were destroying 13 million jobs – a net gain of 7 million. So the fear is misplaced that workers are being replaced by machines on a broad scale.

True, individual workers may lose jobs in a given plant or industry; but often the automation comes *after* many of the workers have been lured away to better opportunities elsewhere. The greater dangers of unemployment are from the effects of minimum-wage laws, unemployment compensation, and other governmental intervention. So the solution would seem to be less government, less taxation, more opportunity for saving, investment, education, and further automation.

For full documentation, get your own copy of Dr. Brozen's vital analysis. ◈

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The Fateful Turn

From Individual Liberty to Collectivism
1880-1960

by Clarence B. Carson

Tracing the devious route Americans have traveled toward collectivism over the past 80 years should help reveal the way back to freedom.

Dr. Carson, professor of American history at Grove City College, clearly and skillfully shows how the American tradition was undermined: First, the ideology, developed by thought leaders in classrooms, pulpits, and the press; then, the formation of movements behind these men and their ideas, abetted by businessmen, laborers, consumers – the very ones with most to lose as freedom failed; and finally, the compulsory political implementation of collectivist ideas.

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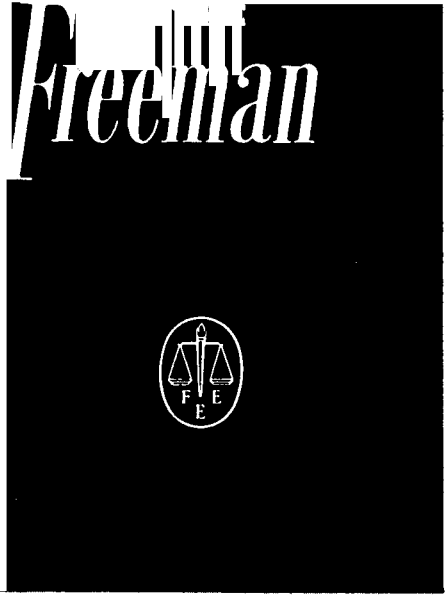

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